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IT'S A MAD WORLD AFTER ALL: THE INFLUENCE OF STOIC THOUGHT IN
GOYA'S *LOS CAPRICHOS*

By

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BFA, BA University of Georgia, 1999
MA University of Louisville, 2007

A Dissertation
submitted to the Faculty of the
College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Louisville
in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
In Art History

Department of Fine Arts
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

December 2019

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A Dissertation Approved on

15 November, 2019

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated in memory of my father

Mr. James R. Steward

and

My mother, Mrs. Joyce D. Steward,

For their unending encouragement and support.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my mentor, Dr. Jay Kloner, for his guidance and generosity in guiding me on this journey. I would also like to thank the other committee members, Dr. Benjamin Huffbauer, Dr. Christopher Fulton, and Dr. Frank Nuessel, for their assistance and support over the past several years. I also would like to thank my family for their support. I wish to thank Glenda Kloner for bringing to my attention the similarity between Manet's *Olympia* and Goya's *Caprichos*, plate 31 regarding flatness and important aspects of meaning and symbolism.

ABSTRACT

IT'S A MAD WORLD AFTER ALL: THE INFLUENCE OF STOIC THOUGHT IN GOYA'S *LOS CAPRICHOS*

Jennifer A. Steward

15 November 2019

This dissertation is a study of use of the principles of Stoic rhetoric and moral psychology in Goya's print series, *Los Caprichos*. The relationship between Stoic thought and the technical aspects will be explored with regard to the effects used to support the visual conceptualizations. The function of the *Caprichos* as a book with chapters or parts relating particular modes of perception will be addressed. The technique of aquatint employed by Goya will also be explored. The predominance of geometric forms within the composition that reflect inter-personal relationships is also presented for consideration.

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INTRODUCTION

The relation between Stoicism and Francisco de Goya's print series, *Los Caprichos*, was previously a topic not given serious consideration in the scholarly literature except for a brief thought in Nigel Glendinning's 1977 article, "Goya and van Veen. An Emblematic Source for Some of Goya's Late Drawings," which was not developed further. In my Master's thesis, I conducted a very brief summary of Stoic thought. This included a framework based on the three principle areas of Stoic philosophy: logic, physics, and ethics. From that point I made an attempt to demonstrate a connection between the literature and culture of Goya's time with Stoicism. The third and fourth parts were a study of Goya's life and *Los Caprichos* in terms of Stoicism and an analysis of select plates from *Los Caprichos*. These last two parts were organized around the three areas of the philosophy as mentioned above.

The interaction between Stoic thought and Goya's work is still a subject not fully explored. It is my aim in the dissertation to continue the study that I began in the Master's thesis in greater detail with new material and reconsidered thoughts on other aspects. There is still a vast amount to be discovered in this subject. Although in the thesis I structured the content along the lines of logic, physics and ethics, I feel a less rigid approach to be a better way to address the new material in the dissertation. By using a more thematic conceptualization of the subject, the content will be developed in a better manner.

The broad themes to be analyzed, as set out in the outline, are the literary connections and the captions, the way in which Goya uses the *Caprichos* prints to critique society through keen observation, the changes initiated by deafness which contributed to a greater perception, and a study of Goya's printmaking techniques in relation to his perceptions and ideas. Some plates referred to in the thesis may be discussed again, but the majority of plates used as examples will not have been addressed previously.

The captions for *Los Caprichos* have long held fascination for viewers. While scholarship has generally accepted the captions as the titles of the prints, many scholars have differed in opinion regarding the function of the caption. Goya's contemporaries viewed these as a code referring to events or people of the day. There have been studies of the notations made by contemporaries along these lines with some of the prints. The captions also lend themselves to theories about their function as metaphor or idiom.

One aspect of the captions that is fascinating is their wit and ironic qualities. These qualities, coupled with the length of the captions, beg the question of whether these can actually function as titles excepting the tendency in the eighteenth century toward lengthy titles. The wording is also often at odds with the subject of the print. This has also been a puzzle many have attempted to solve. A possible answer is to compare the captions to aphorisms. Several Stoic philosophers were noted for their aphorisms and pithy sayings. Epictetus, though not known as much for pithy remarks, composed in his *Discourses* and *Enchiridion* short paragraphs or single sentences which contained a specific thought. The works of Baltasar Gracián, a seventeenth century Jesuit priest, have also been noted for their Neostoic characteristics. Gracián's work, *The Oracle*, is also noted for its wit. The connection of Stoic elements in Spain, especially those pertaining to Seneca, have been noted in Gracián's writings by Karl Blüher (*Seneca in Spanien*) and by Jeremy Robbins (*Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 2006).

It is also interesting to mention that a collection of Goethe's maxims have been collected in a book, *Maxims and Reflections*, which shares some of the flare of Gracián's *Oracle*. This work is important for two reasons. Firstly, it shows the interest in maxims in the 1810s and 1820s. This time corresponds approximately to the last years of Goya's life. And secondly, some studies have made connections between Goethe's works and Stoic thought. There are relevant similarities, especially concerning nature and life. More importantly, there are significant parallels between the life and work of both Goya and Goethe. This may be a minor point, but it has merit.

The *Caprichos* have been traditionally accepted as a social commentary through the use of satire. This is certainly an obvious approach to the prints, but the reason for this interpretation

of his work is rarely discussed. Goya's associations with other *ilustrados* and his involvement in certain salons may also explain his agreement with the need for economic and educational reforms. These acknowledgements certainly justify the satirical commentary. In a different vein, comments in Goya's letters provide some insight into his opinion on extravagances in personal possessions. The anecdotes in two letters to Martín Zapater describe Goya's experiences with a fashionable English gig (a two-wheeled carriage) and accidents, one of which involved serious injury to a pedestrian and Goya. The letters were dated 1 August 1786 and 17 April 1787 appear in Sarah Symmons' book, *Goya: A Life in Letters*. After the later accident, the gig was promptly exchanged for a landau carriage. This was as much a sentiment of "do no harm" as well as self-preservation.

The subject of the fashionable is also recognized as a target in the *Caprichos*. However, this is given a more superficial treatment in scholarship. Works such as *Majas on the Balcony*, as well as numerous portraits, show a high level of attention to detail in clothing. The sheen of the fabric, the ribbon and gold or silver threads used for embroidery, and layers of lace are a collection of dabs which create a visually accurate and precise image of the garments. Shoes are another fashion which is treated with a similar amount of detail. This keen observation translates into a study in Goya's work of fashion itself: the use of certain articles of clothing for political statements or declarations of support for certain views, as well as the outer expression of inner virtues. In the *Caprichos*, the adoption of the styles associated with *majismo* are depicted in all manifestations, including lower (and middle) class attire, a response to French fashions, the adaptation by the aristocracy, and a symbol of nationalism.

The use of fashion in certain situations in the *Caprichos* begs the question of whether Goya was making a critique of social interactions and possible societal degeneration. In addition, some plates seem to corroborate the idea that Goya explored the relation of different fashions to behavioral issues relating to the central figure in the image. In turn, the question arises of whether Goya is in agreement with some of the Stoics on acceptable modes of adornment and the relation of fashion and morality. (Many of the Stoics wrote on the subject of

clothing and adornment, but their attitudes toward what was acceptable varied, especially by period—such as early Roman versus Imperial Roman.)

Goya's personal life, as well as his work, may have benefited from Stoic thought, which would have been available through various sources. The Stoic influence in Goya's career supported the keen observation and analytical aspects evident in his work. In their personal life, the death of many children by miscarriage, at birth or in infancy was difficult for both Goya and wife. However, the event that seems to have had the most profound effect on his life and work was the deafness that resulted from an extended period of illness. The cause of this illness has long interested people. Many have developed theories. Doctors have provided hypotheses and others have attempted to utilize forensic medicine, which have yielded few answers and more questions.

What is interesting about Goya's deafness is his attitude and reaction. Understandably, such an event would be devastating, but according to those who knew him, Goya seems to have adjusted reasonably well after his recovery from the illnesses. One of the more interesting consequences appears to be a heightening of observation of the world around him. In effect it may be suggested that Goya developed a hypersensitivity to nature (of the physical world and of life). Part of this new study of nature may involve a deeper, psychological level that Goya observes in his subject. The correlation of the way in which Goya becomes such a keen observer of nature and life with the Stoic concepts of an early form of psychology is one line of thought I would like to explore. I will also attempt to demonstrate how Goya's sketchbooks and the *Caprichos* provide studies that might qualify as psychological case studies.

Another area in which Goya is noted for innovation is printmaking. The eighteenth century, especially the latter half of the century, was an exciting time for the development of new techniques. The two most notable developments were aquatints (a new method in etching) and lithography. Goya utilized both in very unique ways. In fact, the effects of his methods were not replicated until the twentieth century even though his prints were well admired during the nineteenth century.

While there are studies on Goya's print technique, there are few that discuss the actual methods used. One problem was that the majority of formulas used in printmaking were highly guarded secrets during the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Those that do refer to the aquatint and etching methods do so in basic terms. The descriptions are not very technical and usually refer to the rosin covered plate that is etched. There are areas which can be expounded upon, namely the variety of experimental methods used by Goya. While much of the scholarship on Goya's prints leads one to think that he mastered one style of aquatint application, this section will attempt to show that Goya used a variety of aquatint applications, often alone or in conjunction with each other, to develop a certain effect, or mood, in specific prints. The use of the different effects created by the alternating aquatint methods add to the subject of the images in a way that makes the technique as significant as the figures and other formal aspects.

Scholarship on Goya, with potential connections regarding the *Caprichos*, is growing. The latest trend in Goya scholarship appears to be centered on finding new ways to understand his work. One example is the 2014 exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, "Goya: Order and Disorder," which attempted to have better clarity by arranging the works by theme rather than chronological order as is often the case. There have been other studies which also take a thematic approach, including topics of witches, women, self-portraits, and the small paintings just to name a few. Cultural and philosophical issues are also current topics. One such case is Andrew Schulz's work at the Getty Research Institute where he studied Islamic influences in the eighteenth century. This certainly has bearings for recent studies of Goya's work. (Andrew Schulz has given lectures on this topic and a book is in progress.)

One aspect of the general scholarship on Goya that continues is the inclination to place Goya's work either in the realm of the Enlightenment or Romanticism. Many scholars are divided. This polarization of Goya inhibits other interpretations, such as one that Goya may be more like Goethe, a transitional figure who influenced both areas.

The scholarship on Stoicism is also growing at a faster rate. More recent scholarly publications involve efforts to trace the influence of Stoicism from the seventeenth century to the present. In these works, scholars seem more interpretive, with a tendency to focus more on a

narrow aspect of Stoic thought rather than on the philosophy as a whole. This is in contrast to late nineteenth century and early twentieth century scholarship, which had a more pedantic, academic tendency and concentrated on a closer analysis of primary sources.

Currently there are two scholars who are producing prominent works: John Sellars and Jeremy Robbins. Sellars has worked not only on the current historiography of Stoicism; he has also studied its influences. The work Robbins has produced is concentrated on the impact of Neostoicism in Spain, specifically moral and political aspects of the philosophy. The work Robbins has done regarding Baltasar Gracián is highly significant.

The Stoics of the Imperial Roman era are consistently the source of studies in Stoicism, primarily because the majority of early Stoic writings have been lost, survive in fragmentary form, or are recounted through second- or third-hand parties. The few works addressing Stoicism in Spain refer to either Seneca or Epictetus. Karl Blüher's *Seneca in Spanien* is one example. In addition, Neostoicism can be divided into two factions. One group, which includes the founder, Justus Lipsius, relies on the works of Seneca. The other, led by Guillaume du Vair, is based on the works of Epictetus. Other thinkers, who were independent in their approach to Stoicism, in other words those who were not Neostoics, also fell into similar divisions.

It is my hope that this study will contribute to Goya scholarship by further analysis of the aspects of Stoic thought in Goya's work. By using the Stoic theory to explain Goya's thought processes and work by using the *Caprichos* and related drawings as documentation. In other words, this study will explore a new way in which Goya viewed, understood and interpreted his world. As such, the *Caprichos* function as the artist's critique of the world. By using select Stoic principles to interpret Goya's work, this will in effect be a sort of practical application of Stoic theory. At the least, it will show the prevalence of Stoic thought in Goya's time (the early Modern period). This will also complement current trends in the study of Stoic philosophy, especially tracing aspects of the philosophy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In short, the aim of the dissertation will be to analyze various themes or situations in Goya's *Los Caprichos*, with regard to corresponding Stoic thoughts, from antiquity through the eighteenth century.

In considering the *Caprichos*, for each individual print there are two separate parts, the text and the image. The prints are divided into two parts: a more realistic view and one more fantastic. There are very few sets of the *Caprichos* that remain in their original, bound condition. The unbound prints are easier to group in certain ways which emphasize new or different meanings, but the dynamic of the whole provides a different view altogether.

This dissertation will be divided into the following issues. In the first chapter the use of language, specifically the use of maxims, will be discussed in relation to Stoic theory. The Stoic concepts on the nature and practice of maxims, and how that thought relates to practices in the eighteenth century, will be briefly mentioned as they pertain to Gracián. Ultimately, these topics will be applied to a discussion of the *Caprichos*. The presentation of the aspect of language is important in that it relates to a significant part of the *Caprichos*, the captions. This will include a brief discussion on the rhetorical aspect of *phantasia* as delineated by the Stoics.

The second chapter is centered on the Stoic concepts of *phantasia* as a means of visualizing various thoughts concerning psychology and its manifestations. This will involve an analysis of certain themes of perception, namely appearances, passions, morals, as well as madness. The passions are a large group of emotions and desires, which the Stoics classified in terms of a present good, a future good, and a present bad or future evil. Emotions and *eupatheiai* ("good emotion" or "proper feelings") were assigned a category and each could be subdivided by genus and again by species. (Margaret Graver provides a fascinating look at this system of classification and includes very helpful charts in her book, *Stoicism and Emotion*.) These can be associated with the Stoic concept of *phantasia* which can be understood either as the product of a mental construct and as such part of logic and rhetoric or a mental image (mind-picture) as defined by the early Stoics. *Phantasia* gains a second meaning during the Roman Imperial era which was later solidified as part of the definition. This second definition presents *phantasia* as an impression or representation of something, similar to the modern English definition of imagination and the Stoic appreciation of art or poetry. The aspect which unites these different thoughts is the concept of appearances. With regard to the *Caprichos*,

appearances are a dominant feature where the figures, as well as the viewers, are presented with situations where things are often not what they seem.

In the third chapter, is focused on the structure and function of the *Caprichos* as they were initially published, in book form. In taking this presentation into consideration, a more unified and comprehensive understanding of the *Caprichos* may be achieved.

In chapter four, the technical features of the *Caprichos* are presented as another way in which the theoretical concepts are reinforced by the format of the book and the use of aquatint in defining the characteristic tone of the prints. The tonal variations achieved through the aquatint emphasize the theoretical concepts in the imagery. I have made a series of test plates for different aquatint methods and some results will be included in the chapter on Goya's technique.

The use of geometry is explored in the fifth chapter in terms of composition and psychology. The *Caprichos* also have a compositional aspect in which the principal figures, usually one or two figures and occasionally more, can be visually reduced to geometric forms. These forms and their placement within the image correlate to the emotional or mental state of the figure, or the degree of irrationality. For example, as the prints in the series progress, there is a tendency for the geometric forms to become more irregular and unstable. This can be seen in the first part of the *Caprichos*, the figures are more grounded and even if they are clustered in a tight grouping, they seem to rest on the ground, whereas in the second half of the figures give the impression of floating or hovering just above the ground and are in a more fluid state.

The sixth chapter will offer a brief discussion of some of the elements in Goya's work, specifically the *Caprichos*, that seem to be more influential in later art. In part, this includes aspects of style and themes.

The titles of the prints used in this dissertation are as they appear on the prints. The spelling and punctuation is the Eighteenth Century Spanish used by Goya.

CHAPTER I

CAPTIONS AS TEXT

This chapter will examine the feature of the text within the prints. In the tradition of captions or titles during the eighteenth century, two traits are relatively common. First, the caption is more descriptive, such as in the works of Giovanni Battiste Piranesi ("The Round Tower," plate 3 of the series *Imaginary Prisons*, 1749-50.) The second type is the satirical caption, which can be seen in the works of William Hogarth and Thomas Rowlandson. There have been comparisons made between the *Caprichos* and satirical prints. One notable example is Reva Wolf's work, *Goya and The Satirical Print*, which makes a strong case for the comparison of satiric images. Such thought in the Goya scholarship does not fully account for other aspects of the text in the *Caprichos*. Goya's text is well noted for its ambiguity as well as its pithiness, which can be related to maxims. The second aspect that is equally ambiguous is the relationship to the commentary reportedly in Goya's own hand (the Prado manuscript) and a copy given to Juan Augustín Ceán Bermúdez by Goya that was later passed on to Valentín Carderera (the Carderera manuscript).¹

The language of the *Caprichos* is a complex and dynamic mix of borrowed literature and an original approach to traditions in Spanish literature. A significant amount of textual evidence available for the *Caprichos*, notably the inscriptions and notations on the drawings and working proofs (states) as well as the announcements and even correspondence such a letter written to Yriarte, and the text within the field of the plate is the principal focus. The structure of the texts, often referred to as captions or titles, in the series is also following traditions and breaking them at

¹ There are several English translations available such as those in Lopez-Rey's *Goya* and Phillip Hoffer's *Goya: Los Caprichos*. However, photographs of the Prado manuscript is available on the Prado's website. <https://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/comenarios-a-los-caprichos/>

the same time. For the purpose of this dissertation, the writing on the plates will be referred to as “texts.” Throughout the texts of the *Caprichos*, and much of the material used for inspiration, Stoic thought is a constant presence. The correlation between Goya’s *Caprichos* and Stoic thought manifests in two ways: firstly in style as represented by aphorisms (*sententiae*) and secondly by the expression of similar concepts.

The aphoristic style as well as the content of Seneca’s (c. 4 B.C.-64 C.E.) works provides a clue to the interpretation of not just select groupings of the *Caprichos* but the entire series. The influence of Seneca can then be traced to Baltasar Gracián (1601-1658), a Jesuit monk familiar with the Neostoic movement.² Likewise, Seneca had some significance for Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832). Even though copies of translations of Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius were part of Goethe’s library, they were not as important as Baruch de Spinoza in terms of Goethe’s exposure to Stoicism.³

These three figures are relevant to understanding Goya’s *Caprichos* for several reasons. Not only was Seneca the direct source of Stoic thought, his plays which were popular provided an example, or case study of how to manage style and content. Gracián’s style, which is strongly patterned after Seneca, and Stoic rhetorical style in general, also provided a model for Goya in how to adapt, or to adopt, Stoic thought and style but maintain a place within the Spanish literary tradition. In regard to Goethe, although it is doubtful Goya may have been as familiar with his work, Goethe was Goya’s contemporary and their works were as much a product of their time as well as their innovativeness.

MAXIMS

For the sake of clarity I will briefly highlight some of the more relevant views concerning maxims associated with Seneca, Gracián and Goethe before addressing their relation to Goya’s *Caprichos*.

² Perhaps the simplest way to describe Neostoicism is to say that it is the blending of Stoic and Christian thought with emphasis on morals. The Neostoic was part the revival and transformations of Stoic thought made during the Neostoic movement.

³ Bishop, *The World of Stoical Discourse*, p. 11 and 13-14.

The maxim, although it is generally recognized as a short, pithy saying, is part of rhetoric that uses its nature to aid in memorization and to make a point as quickly as possible. The maxim also is considered equivalent to related terms: aphorism, epigram, apothegm (utterance), *sententiae* (sentence; opinion), fragment and *aperçu* (sketch).⁴

The relationship between metaphor and sign as mentioned in Nöth's *Handbook to Semiotics*, is in very loose terms. Nöth gives two definitions of metaphor, a narrow and a broad concept, one ancient and seldom used and a more current usage. It is interesting to note that the Stoic concept of metaphor, as presented by Seneca, is more in agreement with what Nöth regards as the modern view. According to Nöth, metaphor "lies at the root of semiotics."⁵ In terms of the connection between metaphor and semiotics, especially from a Stoic point of view, there is not much material. In his *Lives of Philosophers*, Diogenes Laertius mentioned that Zeno wrote a work titled "On Signs," which is now lost, and that this work has been critiqued by his contemporaries.⁶ I will begin briefly with descriptions of the attitudes held by Seneca, Gracián, and Goethe regarding *sententiae* or maxims, before addressing the ways in which Goya's text reflects the Stoic tenets.

For Seneca, the purpose of the maxim was to express salient points of knowledge, or truths, and Seneca himself was aware that his style aspired to simplicity and directness, but his 'epigrammatic sententiousness' is one of the most noticeable aspects of his writing (poetry, prose, letters, and plays). The term employed by Seneca and the Stoics in general was *sententiae*. In his use of maxims, or *sententiae*, Seneca utilized many abstract synecdoches (the abstract in place of the concrete) where brevity is a key characteristic.⁷ Likewise, in the *Caprichos*, Goya uses the text in an abstract manner that stands in for broader, more complex

⁴ Bishop, *The World of Stoical Discourse*, 23. According to Nöth, the aphorism is also considered a subset of metaphor in the broader sense.

⁵ Nöth, 128.

⁶ D.L., *Lives* VII.4, 115; Osler, *Atoms, Pneuma & Tranquility*, 19. Osler also asserts that unlike Aristotle, the Stoics did not use categories of cause and effect but chose instead used signs and what is signified. As Osler indicates, the Stoics used semiology in place of etiology. See also Allen's *Inference from Signs* and Manetti's article "Theories of Sign in Classical Antiquity" in Refi.

⁷ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 160.

concepts. One way this is achieved is through the allusion to other works. In the majority of the texts in the *Caprichos* are drawn directly or indirectly from other literary works.⁸

Poetry was the starting point for gaining as much persuasive power as possible into verbal expressions.⁹ Seneca refers to “aphorism expressed with some rhetorical flourish” as “flowery bits of speech” at the beginning of *Epistle* 33.1.¹⁰ The ability of the aphorism to present a poetic character is vital for Seneca, who sought to “achieve the same effect” of interspersing poetry in discourse “by his use of prose sayings, *sententiae*.”¹¹ The *sententiae* are “a form of poetic expression, even if couched in prose, with which they share the ability to ‘strike’ the mind of hearers, that is, of providing the emotional ictus that is then subjected to rational assent.”¹² Seneca’s preference was for “concentrating on the internal visual elements and to privilege metonymy and synecdoche, which focus the attention on detail that is significant or even symbolic.”¹³

Seneca mentions maxims specifically in two of his letters, *Epistle* 2 and *Epistle* 33. In *Epistle* 2, he is advocating selecting some “nibble” for further reflection and provides an example he used himself:

“Today it is this, which I found in Epicurus - for it is my custom to cross even into the other camp, not as a deserter but as a spy:
Cheerful poverty is an honourable thing.
Indeed, it is not poverty if it is cheerful: the pauper is not the person who has too little but the one who desires more. What does it matter how much is stashed away in his strongbox or his warehouses, how much he has in livestock or in interest income, if he

⁸ See F. J. Sanchez Canton’s *Los Caprichos de Goya y sus preparatorios* (1949) and Edith Helman’s *Trasmundo de Goya*. These are just two examples. They stand out for their broad scope of study.

⁹ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 234. See also Horace *Ars Poetica*, “A poem is like a picture: one strikes your fancy more, the nearer you stand; another the farther away.” (p. 481, line 361). This is part of theory of the aesthetic emotional response invoked by Seneca (p. 459, lines 101-105).

¹⁰ Seneca, *Letters on Ethics*, 109 and 523.

¹¹ Cf. Seneca, *Epistles* 94.27 and 43, 108.6-7. Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 234.

¹² Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 234 and 243. “Cleanthes defended the philosophical value of poetry using a striking image: ‘Just as our breath produces a sharper and more focused sound when it passes through the long, narrow passage of the trumpet and pours out by a hole that opens at the end, so the narrow constraint of poetic form makes our meanings sharper and more focused.’” (Seneca *Ep.* 108.10)

[Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, 444] However, Seneca cautioned against the limitations and potential dangers of *sententiae* in *Ep.* 33, specifically passage *Ep.* 33.6 “For single maxims sink more easily when they are marked off and bounded like a line of verse (*carminis modo inclusa*).” [Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion Seneca*, 244.]

¹³ *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 160. Cf. plate 49, *Duendecitos*.

hangs on another's possessions, computing not what has been gained but what there is yet to gain? Do you ask what is the limit of wealth? Having what one needs, first of all; then, having enough."¹⁴

The moral theme of the pauper is mentioned again with Seneca quoting Ovid's *Metamorphosis*: "only the pauper keeps count of his herd."¹⁵ These passages seem to be similar to the miser in the *Caprichos*, plate 30 *Porque esconderlos?* (Why hide them); however, the miser combines a fear of loss (of wealth) with the desire for more. Goya's miser keeps his bags of money as close as possible like the pauper in Ovid's maxim keeps tabs on his herd.

In *Epistle* 33 Seneca compares the appeal of maxims and their use to the works of the greatest writers where everything written is worth pondering. Seneca goes on to state near the end of the letter:

"On reading "works of the greatest men (Stoics) ... You must read them as wholes, come to grips with them as wholes. ... Still, I have no objection to your studying the individual limbs, provided you retain the actual person. A beautiful woman is not the one whose ankle or shoulder is praised but the one whose overall appearance steals our admiration away from the beautiful parts."¹⁶

This is similar to a theme Goya's *Caprichos* where the dandy quizzes one very small portion of the woman in question while ignoring the whole. This can be seen in pl. 6 *Nadie se conoce* (Nobody knows himself) with the attention on the eyes. In pl. 7 *Ni así la distingue* (Even thus he cannot make her out) the dandy's monocle is pointed to the woman's chin, or maybe her lips, but his eyes are directed more to the upper lip or tip of her nose. The woman's bust is the part singled out in pl. 14 *Que sacrificio!* (What a sacrifice!). Three other examples: the legs in pl. 26 *Ya tienen asiento* (They've already got a seat), the head in pl. 19 *Todos caerán* (All will fall), and the beauty spot (and eyes) in pl. 27 *Quien mas rendido?* (Which of them is more overcome?).

Seneca in turn was a major influence because of his distinctive style, specifically his use of puns, word-plays, short clauses and sentences, maxims, and a lack of conjunction, which produced a "staccato style" where the individual units were more prominent than the harmonious)

¹⁴ Seneca, *Letters on Ethics*, 2.5-6, 27.

¹⁵ Seneca, *Letters on Ethics*, 33.4, 109.

¹⁶ Seneca, *Letters on Ethics*, 33.5, 109.

whole. This style appealed to an age concerned with impact and instruction, the Golden Age of Spain and the work of Gracián in particular.¹⁷

One aspect of both Stoic writings and *conceptismo*,¹⁸ a literary movement influential in the Spanish literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is the preference for a certain style, namely the use of maxims. This element serves not only as a function of style but as a rhetorical tool to express philosophical content. This will be presented through a brief discussion of maxims in terms of Seneca and Gracián as well as mention of Goethe. Seneca wrote briefly on the subject and his own style was both praised and criticized for its aphoristic style. The work of Gracián enjoyed continued popularity and influence during different periods of the eighteenth century.¹⁹

For Gracián, style was important as substance and was displayed through the creative use of style, especially through word-play. In this, Gracián reflects an attitude similar to Seneca as well as the way Gracián's maxims strove to create an immediate effect that was expressed "truths" or insights into the human condition.²⁰ This was combined with the belief that aphoristic

¹⁷ Robbins, *The Challenges of Uncertainty*, 108.

¹⁸ During the seventeenth century, there were two styles that were prominent in Spanish literature: *conceptismo* and *culteranismo*. Both styles strived for novelty, ingenuity, wonder and surprise, although their methods differed greatly. As the name implies, *conceptismo* emphasized the uses of concepts. *Culteranismo* relied on a complex use of language, specifically elaborate metaphors, complex syntax, and Latinate vocabulary to produce a beautiful but difficult style. Quevedo and Gracián were proponents of *conceptismo*. Góngora is a representative of *culteranismo*. See Robbins, *The Challenges of Uncertainty*, p. 105 and 30.

¹⁹ See Glendinning, *A Literary History of Spain*, Appendix C, 134. In this table, Glendinning lists the frequency of certain works by authors such as Cervantes, Quevedo and Gracián. Only the information provided for Gracián pertain to editions of his *El Criticón*. It is my understanding that there were four editions published in Spain and two in Antwerp of Gracián's *Oráculo Manual* between 1700 and 1757. See also, Joseph Jacobs, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, xxvi. Joseph Jacobs, a well-known author and editor of folk-lore and other genres, organized a translation of Gracián's *Oraculo Manual*. (See the edition of *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, first published in 1892 by Macmillan and Co.). In the second part of his introduction, titled *De maximen*, Jacobs provides a brief comparison between an aphorism and a maxim. "Many men have sought to give their views about man and about life in a pithy way; a few have tried to advise men in short sentences what to do in the various emergencies of life. The former have written aphorism, the latter maxims. Where the aphorism states a fact of human nature, a maxim advises a certain course of action. The aphorism is written in the indicative, the maxim in an imperative mood."

²⁰ Robbins, *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 109. This also occurs in Goya's *Caprichos*. Robbins describes the "truths" as "arresting and wittily expressed" which links to the "striking" effect of Seneca's *sententiae*. The relation between Gracián's aphorisms and epigrams is also noted by Robbins.

language could be used to uncover hidden links between different thoughts or subjects.²¹

Maxims, for Gracián, function as a fragmented knowledge which “requires the reader to not only unravel meaning of each individual maxim, but then to construct sense and coherency from the whole.”²² This is also an apt description of what happens with the *Caprichos*.

Jeremy Robbins has pointed out that “Gracián’s attraction lies in the seemingly amoral way in which he rather teaches the discrete how to exploit appearance on the basis that things do not pass for what they are, but for what they appear to be.”²³ Although this would seem to be in contradiction to Stoic thought, it is in fact in agreement with the Stoic treatment of impressions, both true and false. Gracián’s treatment of teaching someone how to exploit appearances relates directly to several *Caprichos*, two of which include *majas* who use superstitions to cover improprieties as in pl. 3, *Que viene el Coco (Here Comes the Boogie-man)*, and actions by supposedly honorable, trustworthy people. The manipulation of appearances, especially by *majas*, including dress and mannerisms which feature in controlling the impressions received, or how a person is viewed.

The Stoics are known for their emphasis on “being in accordance with Nature,” where Nature is both the model for observational studies and an internal, more psychological adherence to the study and understanding of human nature. To this,²⁴ Gracián’s statements concerning *parecer* (appearance) and *ser* (reality) combine elements of Stoic thought while representing concepts which were very common in Spanish literature during the Baroque era and through the eighteenth century. In Gracián’s maxim number 99 in *Oráculo manual*, “*Realidad y apariencia*,” represents this most clearly.

²¹ Robbins, *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 109. Cf. Oráculo 14.

²² Robbins, *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 114.

²³ Robbins, *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 112. See Oráculo 99 “*Realidad y apariencia ...*” In relation, Gracián’s *Agudeza* (conceits and witticisms), i.e. of the hydra which “encapsulates fascination with conceits of this kind, for diversity of meaning springs from a single source.” The effect of such rhetoric is to keep readers on their toes, proving mental agility is required to prise meaning from such laconic sentences. [Robbins *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 111]. This correlates with the people who wrote explanation manuscripts for the *Caprichos* (except the Prado and Carderera manuscripts) who show their own predispositions and prejudices.

²⁴ “Our human nature is thus blamed for our propensity to misread reality, ... Gracián follows the Stoics in giving reason pride of place in correcting our misconceptions.” [Robbins, *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 71]

“*Reality and appearance.* Things don’t pass for what they are, but for how they appear. Few look within, and many are content with appearances. It’s not enough to be right of your face looks wrong.”

In a similar manner, Goya addresses this topic in the *Caprichos*, making observations himself but also leaving much to the viewer to determine or perceive.²⁵ Two examples of corresponding prints in the *Caprichos* include pl. 57 *La filiacion* (The Filiation) through the use of pedigree to fool the fiancé by not examining the nature of the young lady herself and in pl. 7 *Ni así la distingue* (Even thus he cannot make her out) the dandy has difficulty determining whether the woman is a lady, a *maja*, or a prostitute.

In a related maxim, number 130, Gracián presents a variation of maxim 99:

“*Do, and appear to do.* Things don’t pass for what they are, but for what they seem. To be of value and to know how to show this is to be doubly valuable. It’s as if what isn’t seen doesn’t exist. Reason itself isn’t venerated when it lacks any semblance of reason. The deceived are far more numerous than the alert; deceit is rife and things are only judged by their exterior. There are things that are very different from how they appear. A good exterior is the best recommendation of a perfect interior.”²⁶

Oráculo 130, which reiterates the message of aphorism number 99, “but in such a way as to make clear that what Gracián is recommending is that an individual can take advantage of this fact of life, either to manipulate the gullibility of others or, what is more sinister, to pass oneself off as something one is not:...”²⁷ There are examples in Goya’s *Caprichos* which express similar concepts. The young woman dressed in *maja* fashions and presents lady-like manners that possible mask their real intentions in pl. 15 *Bellos consejos* (Pretty Teachings) is contrasted with the more transparent advertisements of the woman’s role in pl. 17 *Bien tirade está* (It’s nicely stretched) and pl. 31 *Ruega por ella* (She prays for her).

The third dream from Quevedo’s *Sueños*, *El mundo por de dentro* (The World from Within), “shows a beautiful woman, only to have the guide, the allegorical figure *Desengaño*, reveal that her beauty is cosmetic”,²⁸ and expresses similar views to the analogy in Seneca’s *Epistle* 33.5 (cited above) as well as relating to several *maja* prints in the *Caprichos*. Specifically

²⁵ Cf. Robbins, *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 112.

²⁶ Gracián, *The Pocket Oracle*, 48-49.

²⁷ Robbins *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 112. Cf. *Caprichos* plates 6 and 57.

²⁸ Robbins, *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 48. Robbins notes that this emphasizes the hypocrisy of modern life. This aspect is featured in several *maja* prints of the *Caprichos*.

relevant are the concepts of illusion, addressed by the character called Disillusion, and appearances.²⁹ In maxim 14, Gracián brings in the topic of manners as well as appearances:

“*Reality and manner.* Substance is insufficient, circumstance is also vital. A bad manner ruins everything, even justice and reason. A good manner makes up for everything: it gilds a ‘no’, sweetens truth, and beautifies old age itself. How something is done plays a key role in all affairs, and a good manner is a winning trick. Graceful conduct is the chief ornament of life; it gets you out of any tight situation.”³⁰

Seneca as well stresses throughout his letters good manners and right actions. Goya, in his prints, relates the absurdity of taking such manners to extremes or using them in inappropriate times. One example is pl. 55 *Hasta la muerte* (Until death), where the very elderly woman primps at her dressing table, adjusting a bow popularized by *La Caramba* and immediately adopted by ladies and *majas* alike. Although in this instance such behavior and fashion become grotesque.

In the *Caprichos*, Goya like Gracián does not ignore reality, instead both confront it and demonstrate how to succeed; however, the *Caprichos* differ in that they are also commentaries of contemporary life.³¹ When the world is perceived to be upside down, “*al revés*,” with values askew and these appearances being taken as true, Gracián “argues that the topsy-turvy world is a direct result of our failure to employ the one faculty which he believes distinguishes us from animals, our reason,” corresponding directly with Stoic tenets.³²

There is another similarity between the format of Gracián’s *Oráculo* manual and Goya’s texts and commentaries. The maxims in the *Oráculo* are understood as the first sentence being the maxim and the rest of the paragraph that follows expounds on the topic. It was only later in

²⁹ Quevedo, *Dreams*, 95-121. The passage referenced is on page 114. “A man who does not love a beautiful woman with all five of his senses does not properly esteem nature’s greatest concern and her greatest handiwork. Happy is the one who comes upon such an occasion, and wise is he who enjoys it. ... What eyes of such pure beauty! What cautious and careful glances in the carefree spirit of a free soul! What dark eyebrows, setting forth by contrast the whiteness of her forehead! What cheeks, where her blood mingles with the milk white color of her skin to produce the pink tones that are cause for wonder. What scarlet lips keep guard over pearly teeth which her laughter reveals discreetly! What a neck! What hands! What a figure!...”

³⁰ Gracián, *The Pocket Oracle*, 7.

³¹ Cf Robbins, *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 112.

³² Robbins, *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 70. These sentiments shared with other moralists such as Quevedo (*Sueños*). López-Rey refers to Quevedo’s *Sueños* as “social satire in a dream setting” (Goya’s *Caprichos*, 9-101). Quevedo’s *Sueños* reprinted in 1791 and widely read in Goya’s time (Lopez-Rey, *Goya’s Caprichos*, 99-101). Compare Quevedo’s *Sueños* with Goya’s *Caprichos*. Quevedo is associated with transcendental reality, religious truth, and eternal salvation or damnation. Goya is associated with reason or ration(al), absurdities of human behavior (Lopez-Rey, *Goya’s Caprichos*, 100-101)

the nineteenth century that there was an alteration in format. The change consisted of italicizing the first sentence of the maxim.³³ Later editions continued this practice. If one were to consider the Prado and Carderera commentaries as part of the a textual unit, then it could be that Goya's commentaries could serve as the supporting remarks like those seen in Gracián's *Oráculo*. For example, plate 56 of the *Caprichos*:

Subir y bajar. La fortuna trata muy mal á quien la osequia. Paga con humo la fatiga de subir y al que ha subido le castiga con precipitarle. (*To rise and fall.* Fortune maltreats those who court her. Efforts to rise she rewards with hot air and those who have risen she punishes by downfall.)

As maxims were the “preferred form of writing” for “stoical philosophers,” during the Enlightenment, the maxim was a means of affirming and expressing link between the ancient world and the modern world.³⁴ “The ability of the aphorism (and its related forms) to encapsulate wisdom made it the form of writing of choice for the Stoics” along with the “memorability of form” which “ensured the endurance of the doctrine and implied a guarantee of trustworthiness.”³⁵ Due to the eighteenth century popularization of aphorisms, Gracián's maxims, particularly the *Oráculo Manual*, were well known throughout Europe.³⁶ Goethe's maxims draw on this tradition.³⁷

Goethe's style of maxims did not follow the model designed by Francis Bacon (1561-1626). According to Bacon, especially his remarks in *De Augmentis*, the aim of the aphorism is “to think and write...in fragments compels the mind to seek its own connexions to established thought, and thus ensures mental activity.”³⁸ Like Bacon, Goethe utilizes the maxim as an efficiently concise vehicle of thought.³⁹ Max Hecker, in his edition of Goethe's *Maximen und Reflexionen*, pointed out that many of the maxims were unoriginal to Goethe.⁴⁰ Instead, Goethe

³³ Gracián, *The Pocket Manual*, xxviii. Robbins acknowledges the question of which is actually the maxim, the first sentence or the whole entry.

³⁴ Bishop, *The World of Stoical Discourse*, 21. In addition, Paul Bishop argues the use of aphoristic form (beloved of Stoics) in Goethe's work, especially his novel *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, creates a world of discourse that dovetails with a world view in turn indebted (heavily) to Stoicism. (Bishop 23-4)

³⁵ Bishop, *The World of Stoical Discourse*, 23.

³⁶ Bishop, *The World of Stoical Discourse*, 22-3. Bishop noted that it was the French translation that was famous, rather than the original Spanish version.

³⁷ See also the article on Goethe's sayings, “The Dark Sayings of the Wise,” by Magill.

³⁸ Stephenson, “On the Widespread Use...”, 3. The emphasis is on communicating a thought, with preference for an original idea, which stimulates further thinking. (Stephenson 9, 11)

³⁹ Stephenson, “On the Widespread Use of...”, 11-17.

⁴⁰ Stephenson, “On the Widespread Use of...”, 11.

employs “commonplaces” and through their use, Goethe is able bring what was previously known to those who do not know it and create new meaning or observation by changing the way the commonplace(s) are used.

The unusual nature of Goya’s captions⁴¹ is widely noted. In similar satirical prints, the brevity of Goya’s captions, which are somewhat abstract, is what sets them apart from the general trend employed by printmakers of this period.⁴² Some scholars view the vague and terse quality as an inadequacy that creates ambiguity and uncertainty during the viewing experience.⁴³ The length of the inscriptions on the preparatory drawings and the working proofs, are considered more in line with expectations for captions during this period.⁴⁴

One print presented by Andrew Schulz as an example of the uncertain relation of the print to the text is pl. 49, *Duendecitos* (Hobgoblins).⁴⁵ The plurality of the term is noted and linked to the general lack of any things that aide in identifying any specific details about these characters. Their purpose, location, and activities are all uncertain. The sense is that the viewer is left with little way of understanding the meaning of the print. There is at least one way possible to make sense of this print and that is through considering the text as an aphorism, specifically

⁴¹ One aspect of the *Caprichos* which have intrigued scholars and viewers alike is the nature of the titles of the prints and their relationship to the images. The most common term applied to the text that accompanies the images is “title.” Alternately, these have also been referred to as “captions” and “legends.” Each of these terms is serviceable, even though the terms caption and legend have connotations which do not apply themselves as well as the term title.

While it may seem like a senseless argument, this question has relevance in understanding the text and the text—image relation. If the need for classifying the text is removed, then one is free to consider other elements of the text. The texts fall into several groupings: single words, short phrases (parts of clauses or propositions), and complete sentences.

⁴² Stanton, “Goya’s Language”, 84. Stanton gives a brief comparison between Goya’s “pithier and more incisive” captions and those of contemporary printmakers.

⁴³ These are views expressed by Andrew Schulz in *Goya’s Caprichos* (190-91); however, other scholars with similar views to Schulz do not take as negative a view of the captions.

⁴⁴ Schulz, in continuing the comparison between the inscriptions on the states of the prints and the finished prints, suggests that the “captions were composed after the images had been designed, indicating that the visual element was conceived before, and independent of, the textual one.” [Schulz 191-92] I disagree with the assumption regarding which came first, the image or the text, because of the inscriptions on the drawings. Which one might take to have been composed before the inscriptions on the states. Also, it is entirely possible that Goya could have been thinking what the text says while he worked on the images or even that the thought inspired the image (drawing). It is really almost impossible to say which account is accurate, but there are more possibilities that are just as feasible if not more so than what Schulz proposed.

⁴⁵ Schulz, *Goya’s Caprichos*, 192.

one that is a subset of the group metaphor, which simultaneously employs an abstract synecdoche.⁴⁶ This method was used well by Seneca and seems to fit Goya's work. In terms of *Duendecitos* (*Hobgoblins*), the figures are like the amenable fellows described in the Prado manuscript; however, there are also similarities with the critical tone taken against the clergy in the Ayala manuscript commentary. The concept of the abstract synecdoche applies to the references made by the poses and expressions of these three Hobgoblins. The figure in the lower left is in a huddled posture cradling his glass in much the way that the monk in pl. 30 *Porque es conderlos?* (Why hid them?), although the hobgoblin does not appear to be as pained as the moneybags character. The figure standing in the middle of the group resembles the figure wearing the top hat in pl. 30, *Porque es conderlos?*(Why hid them), in both expression and gesture. The figure leaning on the right side of the image shares the facial expression of the drunken man in pl. 18 *Ysele guema la Casa* (And his house is on fire), as well as the gracefulness of the posture of the man in the left foreground of pl. 27 *Pobrecitas!* (Poor little girls!). Another observation is that the Hobgoblins are a representation of the inner appearances of the characters, or their human counterparts. As such, the Hobgoblins act as metaphor.

When considering the unusual nature of Goya's captions, it is the characteristics they share with the *sententiae* and maxims of Seneca and Gracián that set them apart. The very points that Schulz takes issue with are the very same that identify the captions with maxims. Thereby it is possible to understand the style of the captions in the way they produce a certain flair not unlike Seneca's *sententiae*, reveal hidden concepts in a similar way to Gracián's maxims, and shares preference with Goethe for using commonplaces to create new meanings (or messages) from known matters. In Goya's own individual manner, he adapts fragments of texts and proverbs for the captions and links them with the images, which together provide a different context than that previously associated with the texts borrowed from the literature (lines from prose, poetry, or plays, proverbs, or the reworking of other lines of literature) or sayings. Edith Helman, George Levitine and F.J. Sánchez Cantón, among others, have identified sources for the majority of the *Caprichos* which range from literary works by friends of Goya, articles published in

⁴⁶ The abstract synecdoche is where a part is used in place of the whole.

contemporary periodicals, and other sources. In comparing this scholarship, there are some plates with sources that multiple scholars agree upon and other plates where different scholars propose different sources. This will be mentioned further later. In a related thought, Stanton notes that in Pl. 8 *Que se la llevaron!* (They carried her off!) the word *que* serves a double function: for emphasis and to indicate an action or event that occurred earlier and lead up to the abduction.⁴⁷ This places Goya's work closer in spirit to the originality and creativity. At first glance Goya may seem to follow the Baconian model; however, most of Goya's texts are "unoriginal" to him so they are not "communicating" as per Bacon's model. Although the way Goya does use the borrowed texts is original.

The use of text in prints is not an uncommon feature, but Goya's application is different. Subtle metaphor (in broadest, most traditional, ancient sense) is a part of the *Caprichos*. The captions are playful and profound. They are paradoxical sometimes in how they may seem at odds in terms of the text and the image, but are directly related. This is especially noticeable where the image offers alternative solution to the logic of the text: more than one solution to a problem, more than one approach. Conversely, there are instances of a simple image whose meaning is exponentially enlarged by text.

Any ambiguity in Goya's captions ties in with the scholarly analysis of Gracián's maxims in that they actively engage the reader mentally, make them work for the meaning which will vary between readers based on their knowledge and experience. This is also evident in the variety of the manuscripts explanations written during and shortly after Goya's lifetime as well as scholarship since.

The Stoic influences correspond with, if not directly influence, Goya's views of life (politics, society, church, etc.) and how they are transferred or presented in the *Caprichos*. Seneca and Epictetus appear to provide the most direct Stoic influences on Goya, especially in terms of style and content. General Stoic and Neostoic thoughts are indirectly conveyed primarily through the works of Diogenes Laertius, Cicero, Augustine, and Gracián.

⁴⁷ Stanton, "Goya's Language," 84. Goya appears to have favored word-play in the text of the *Caprichos*.

The literary style favored by Seneca found proponents during the Golden Age in Spain and farther in the eighteenth century. Two examples are Gracián and Quevedo. Nigel Glendinning, in his work, *A Literary History of Spain: 18th Century*, provides an account of Quevedo's *Sueños*, and imitators such as Torres Villarroel in 18th century. The imitations of the *Sueño* were noted to be "compressed to fit into the pages of the *Correo de Madrid* and the leaves of Goya's *Caprichos*."⁴⁸ In the second half of the 18th century, Glendinning observes that the "excessive decoration was roundly condemned: the abuse of sententiousness, tropes, word-play and puns, antitheses and so forth, thought to be characteristic of Gracián and Quevedo."⁴⁹ Leandro Fernandez de Moratín, according to Glendinning, "expresses the salient ideas of his plays in aphoristic form, and makes a good deal of broken speeches and exclamations to convey emotion; there are also occasional effective instances of alliteration."⁵⁰ Renewed interest in originality is also associated with: Goya, Cienfuegos, Quintana, and Munárriz.⁵¹

In his work, *Picta Poesis*, Clements noted that during the seventeenth century, the emblematisers of the Golden Age of Spain were as fond of aphorisms as metaphors and were especially attached to the writings of Horace and Seneca.⁵² The "poets...abstract imagery," or the image of the poet of the past, was considered a universal symbol.⁵³ As such, Seneca became the symbol of the "philosophic free spirit destroyed by the tyrannies and dictatorships."⁵⁴ And as influential as this conceptualization was for the emblematisers and some literary circles in the eighteenth century, it appears relevant in the *Caprichos* as a synthesized means of drawing parallels between the situation in Seneca's Rome and Goya's Spain.

⁴⁸ Glendinning, *A Literary History of Spain: 18th Century*, 19.

⁴⁹ Glendinning, *A Literary History of Spain: 18th Century*, 33. Glendinning also noted that "in the first few decades of the 18th century; however Gracián and Quevedo were still the commonest models for Spanish prose. The frequency of 18th century editions during the 1770-99 quarter: Quevedo *Sueños* 15 editions; Gracián *Criterión* 2 editions; Cervantes *Quijote* 12 editions.

⁵⁰ Glendinning, *A Literary History of Spain: 18th Century*, 97.

⁵¹ Glendinning, *A Literary History of Spain: 18th Century*, 55.

⁵² Clements, *Picta Poesis*, 27.

⁵³ Clements, *Picta Poesis*, 27.

⁵⁴ Clements, *Picta Poesis*, 27.

LANGUAGE AND IMAGE

The texts, or titles, of the *Caprichos* as previously mentioned are like maxims in their function and character. The texts in the *Caprichos* are pithy and enigmatic with an open invitation to a variety of interpretations. If one were to consider the Prado and Carderera commentaries, then the format resembles Gracián's maxims more closely by expounding on the maxim. There in another aspect not yet mentioned regarding the maxim-texts in the *Caprichos*. It is possible that Goya is using the maxims as metaphors as another way to present a verbal equivalent to the images in the prints as well as to the ideas Goya wished to convey. In short, this is a way to articulate the mind-picture.

To develop this relationship between maxim and metaphor, a closer look at metaphors, with particular attention to Stoic concepts on metaphors and Goya's *Caprichos*, is necessary. Although Seneca was opposed to unusual metaphors, he was in favor of their use and held specific views, as seen in his epistles. In terms of metaphors in plays, the metaphors serve to describe the psychological life of the character and sometimes reflect the tragic plot.⁵⁵ In terms of Seneca's prose and plays, "the image allows us to bestow clarity on the idea, but this clarity should still be subordinated to the moral...."⁵⁶

According to Seneca, using a word or phrase as an image and a metaphor is to 'resort to these terms for sake of "rendering the subject matter visible."' In *De beneficiis* when calling a benefit a "loan," Seneca says "when we say 'loan,' we are using an image and a metaphor...We resort to these terms for the sake of 'rendering the subject matter visible'; when I say 'loan,' it is understood as "like a loan"."⁵⁷ With regard to the *Caprichos* there is also a visual rendering of the subject matter made visible, namely the vices and foibles of human nature.⁵⁸ Seneca's remarks in *Epistle* 59.6 that images allow us to be "in the presence of the thing itself," meaning the

⁵⁵ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 157.

⁵⁶ Bartsch and Shiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 157.

⁵⁷ Bartsch and Shiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 156. Another way to interpret "rendering the subject matter visible" could be articulating the mind-picture. A benefit is good, whereas a 'loan' is not necessarily a good.

⁵⁸ Relationship of Stoic psychology to ethics involves emotional balance and imbalance which are synonymous with virtue and vice. Cf. *Atoms, Pneuma & Tranquility*, 45.

'signifying' thing and the 'subject of discourse.'⁵⁹ An example that is often cited is a passage in Seneca's *Epistle* 117.13, "for example, I see Cato walking; some perception has revealed this, and my mind has believed it." This passage sets out a triadic scheme of signification analogous to that given by Sextus Empiricus, but uses a proposition (| Cato walks |) where Sextus had used only a name (| Dion |).⁶⁰ For example, in the *Capricho* pl. 36 *Mala Noche* (A bad night), the text of the caption corresponds to the utterance, the specific thing referred to, in this case a bad night (due to weather) and the image provides a direct parallel in the visualization of the wind and stormy conditions the girls find themselves in and the more symbolic concept, or the interpretation of the mental representation in our thoughts, that their predicament is caused not only by the meteorological conditions but by the way in which their suggested profession puts them in harm's way on several fronts.⁶¹ Even pl. 70 *Devota profesion* (Devout profession) could relate to this even though it is one of the witchcraft prints due to the manner in which the attitudes and mannerisms closely mimic the Catholic practices. "It must be remembered that the Stoics believed that images (*phantasíai*) produced on the mind by external objects gave rise to true perception if they reproduced the exact configurations of those objects."⁶² Here, the images are more precisely mental pictures relating to the earlier Stoic conception of *phantasia* as part of logic and rhetoric. "The fact that the cognitive processes are based on *phantasía* highlights the role that mental images play in the linguistic theory of meaning."⁶³ If mental images are a key aspect, then one might consider that actual images such as drawings or prints function as a manifestation of the mental images much the same way that an utterance is the product of a concept or mental image. If this is accepted, then it is not unreasonable to consider the structure of Goya's prints as a combination of the Senecan image and the rhetorical poetics and utterances.

⁵⁹ Bartasch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 157. Mireille Armisen-Marchetti also notes the "ability of language to arouse vivid mental representations in our thought" and that the image "allows us to bestow clarity on the idea."

⁶⁰ Manetti, *Theory of Sign*, 95.

⁶¹ This falls in line with the Stoic concept of *lektón*, or "what is said," and which covers both the notion of "judgment" and the "state signified by a word or set of words." See Manetti, *Theory of Signs*, 95. Mates on the other hand in *Stoic Logic*, translates *lektón* as "what is meant." [174 n. 3]

⁶² Manetti, *Theories of Sign*, 93.

⁶³ Manetti, *Theories of Signs*, 97.

Theatrical imagery, through the use of metaphor and maxim, is at heart of Seneca's polemics. One concept is that the "theater is a place where false, mythological, and poetic representations of gods are polarized."⁶⁴ Theater on other hand "represents the fictional realm in which civil cults are celebrated during the periodic Ludi, so that the theater may come to symbolize the gap between superstition, which relies on appearance, and authentic religious experience." The tension is between Stoic theater and the theater of fear.⁶⁵ Similar sentiments were still present during Goya's time. In the *Caprichos*, Goya combined the drama, the moral, and added satire. The satire is very much the product of the attitudes of his time, especially with examples such as the short one act plays called *sainetes* by Cruz and others as well as the English satirical prints.

In another example, the mirror becomes metaphor of self-examination.⁶⁶ Seneca's *De Clementia* (*On Mercy*), written for Nero, begins with the declaration of Seneca's desire to "serve...as a mirror for you, to show you to yourself", utilizes the mirror not only for the emperor but also for citizens in general.⁶⁷ The "treatment of 'the prince as a model of virtue' for the citizens to imitate" is another aspect of the abstract synecdoche as well as the model-mirror held up for the reader, or audience, to learn the lesson.⁶⁸ It could be understood that Goya was using the *Caprichos* as a mirror of the aristocracy or *illustrados* (or anyone who purchases a copy of the *Caprichos*) to correct their folly. According to Shadi Bartsch, Seneca "has introduced the erotic pleasure of the mirror of vanity into the corrective usage of the mirror of self-improvement."⁶⁹ For example, the pleasure of the consciousness of Nero is suggested by Seneca to be Nero's own virtue. This is different from the focus on curing faults, resisting tendencies, and being hard on oneself (as stressed elsewhere by Seneca).

Another way that Goya could be employing Seneca's mirror metaphor is as an attempt to dispel illusions created by certain appearances created by a manufactured image based on dress

⁶⁴ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 170.

⁶⁵ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 193.

⁶⁶ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 125.

⁶⁷ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 68-9. *On Mercy* l.l.l. See Seneca, *Anger, Mercy, Revenge*, 146.

⁶⁸ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 69 note 4.

⁶⁹ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 74.

or manner. In the *Caprichos*, only one print, pl. 55 *Hasta la muerte* (Until death), includes a literal mirror. The old woman vainly tries to retain any semblance of youth and beauty peers into her mirror while a young woman and two dandies barely contain their ridicule. Another print, pl. 41 *Ni mas ni menos* (Neither more nor less), illustrates the projection of what the donkey wants to be reflected for others to see. The donkey's portrait would be his idealized mirror, showing his emotional desires (and allowing a glimpse of his psychological state). In a different manner, one print could be viewed as presenting the subject of uncertainty and irrationality through the object and its reversal, even go so far as to be a kind of "mirror image." Pl. 42, *Tu que no puedes* (Thou who canst not), depicts the donkeys riding the men. The commentary further elaborates the word play which puts all the figures as members of a cavalry: "who would not say that these two cavaliers are cavalry?" Here, the mirror alludes to types which allow for substitution.

Another example is Seneca's metaphors about storms and struggles of emotions and the personification of Fortuna which is "blown this way and that by the accidents of life and reason."⁷⁰ Two of the more obvious plates from the *Caprichos* that relate to the storms of emotions include pl. 9 *Tantalo* (Tantalus), pl. 10 *El amour y la muerte* (Love and death), pl. 36 *Mala Noche* (A bad night). In terms of the vagaries of fortune in pl. 56 *Subir y bajar* (Ups and downs) is an obvious comparison. In article, "Goya's 'Subir y Bajar': Pan and Ambition," George Levitine provides an interesting account of Pan in the role of Fortune. Levitine emphasized that the central, manipulating figure is not a satyr or fawn but Pan himself. In addition, Levitine notes three things with which Pan is associated: nature, the universe, and the world.⁷¹ Only, Levitine draws the conclusion that "the ways of Fortune are those of the world."⁷² However, according to Stoic thought as represented by Seneca, the mind can overcome: "for the mind is more powerful than every act of fortune."⁷³ Seneca, in letter 91.4, wrote that "[a]bsolutely anything can be overthrown in its finest hour by the caprice of fortune. The brighter it shines, the more it is liable to be

⁷⁰ Osler, *Atoms, Pneuma, and Tranquility*, 47.

⁷¹ Levitine, "Goya's 'Subir y Bajar': Pan and Ambition.", 178.

⁷² Levitine, "Goya's 'Subir y Bajar': Pan and Ambition.", 178.

⁷³ Seneca, *Letters on Ethics*, Ep. 98.2, 387.

attacked and shaken: for fortune, nothing is arduous, nothing difficult."⁷⁴ In pl. 56 *Subir y bajar* (Ups and downs), the active role of the figure associated with Fortune and the poor fools who try to advance their goals is presumably their political agendas.⁷⁵ One possible answer to Levitine's question of how Goya came to choose such an unusual imagery is that Goya combined a particular line of Stoic thought with visual elements inspired by popular contemporary theater in order to produce a more dynamic and dramatic image.⁷⁶

Goya's use of metaphor in his *Caprichos* has usually been described in terms of the images themselves. The metaphors described in the scholarship are generally references to critiques of the nobility or the Church as well as the ill effects of ignorance and superstition. In Eleanor Sayre's work on the *Caprichos*, especially the studies focusing on women, specifically witches or prostitutes, there is the assertion that the witches in the *Caprichos* are actually symbols (or references) to prostitutes. The case Sayre makes is very compelling especially when taken with other elements of those particular prints and accompanying texts. These are perhaps the most explicit uses of visual and verbal metaphor that Goya employs within the series.

In George Levitine's article concerning emblems and Goya's *Caprichos*, "Some Emblematic Sources of Goya," the prints are suggested to be unlike emblems in that the text is subordinate to the image.⁷⁷ An example Levitine employs is pl. 19 *Todos Caerán* (All will fall). In addition, according to Edith Helman, the function of the title is like a "sign, rather than a description, definition, or explanation of the print, is an independent commentary, an exclamatory moralizing observation that makes some invisible spectator on the action or scene presented, a

⁷⁴ See also Seneca, *Letters in Ethics*, Ep. 98 "The Power of the Mind," and Ep. 103.

⁷⁵ Levitine describes the figure on the rise having "evanescent smoke" filling his head and hands. Another interpretation is that it is not smoke in that figure's hands but the wigs that were taken off his predecessors. And instead of smoke on his head, it is his own wig in dishevelment, caused by his giddiness at his ascent. The loss of the wigs also could relate to the negative turn of sentiments towards *afrancesados*, or those who favor all things French, especially fashion and intellectual affinities, which came to a point where in *sainetes* such characters were forced to remove their wigs. Cf. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea de un príncipe político-cristiano* 1640-42. These *empresas* [political maxims] are characterized for their avoidance of the human figure in image. See "*O Subir o bajar*."

⁷⁶ There are sources that reference such themes as the world upside-down and Fortune that were popular visually since the Middle Ages, but their usage does not correspond as closely with the *Caprichos*.

⁷⁷ Levitine, "Some Emblematic Sources of Goya," also quoted in Edith Helman, *Trasmundo*, 84-85.

sarcastic lash or a lesson as here, *Everyone will fall*.⁷⁸ Indeed, the title and text can act in such a way. However, there is more to the *Caprichos* than just a text that refers to an image. It is equally possible to reverse the order, so that the image refers to the text. In some instances, depending on the viewer's depth of knowledge and powers of observation, there may be no difference in the interpretation or there may be a significance difference. One example is whether the viewer is familiar with the popular literature and theater of the second half of the eighteenth century, as well as their knowledge of classical and religious literature.

Of the *Caprichos*, perhaps the most recognizable plate from the series and certainly one of the most studied is pl. 43, *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos* (The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters). At one time intended as the frontispiece, this print in the finished work is the beginning of the second half of the series. In various studies, each of the fantastical figures has been analyzed in terms of symbolism and possible relations to current events, differing thoughts of the day and even Goya himself. The text of the plate has also received scrutiny. However, there are some aspects which have not been mentioned before and are closely associated with Stoic thought. The first point concern the terms *sueño*, *fantasia*, and *monstrous*. The *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1791) provides useful insight into the conceptualization of the print and the series as a whole in the way the image is commonly understood in terms of sleep, dream, and monsters. This includes a range of thoughts and possibilities not previously given much acknowledgement regarding the role of imagination, genius, freedom. The next point relates to the meaning of the entirety of the plate as well as to a passage near the end of Seneca's essay *De Tranquillitate Animi* concerning the monsters, madness, imagination and the mind.

The definition of *sueños* in the *Diccionario* provides an additional layer of meaning for the print beyond the active state of sleeping, which allows the monsters of irrationality free reign.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Helman, *Trasmundo*, 84-5. "...el letrado, más que descripción, definición, o explicación de la estampa, es un comentario independiente, una observación moralizante exclamatoria que hace algún espectador invisible sobre la acción o escena presentada, un latigazo sarcástico o un escarmentó como aquí, Todo cerán." The English translation is mine.

⁷⁹ *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, p. 780. (Sleep defined by Meriam-Webster: 1) the natural periodic suspension of consciousness during which the powers of the body are restored, 2) a state resembling sleep such.) Cf. *La vida es sueño* – also a title of work by Calderon de la Barca which contains a passage

“SUEÑO. s. m. El acto de dormir. *Somus*. 2. El suceso, ó especies que en sueños se representan en la imaginación. *Somnium*. 3. La gana, ó inclinación á dormir; así se dice: tengo sueño, me estoy cayendo de sueño. *Sopor, somnus*. 4. La brevedad y ligereza con que qualquiera cosa fenece y pasa; y así decimos: la vida es sueño, esto es un sueño, & c. *Somnus*. 5. Cosa fantástica, y sin fundamento, ó razón. *In somnum, visum somnii*.” [The act of sleeping. The event, or type, that in dreams are represented by the imagination. The desire (wish), or inclination to sleep: so it is said: I sleep, I’m falling asleep. The brevity and lightness with which anything comes to an end (dies) and passes; and so we say: life is a dream, this is a dream. Fantastic thing, and without foundation, or reason.]⁸⁰

In terms of sleeping and dreams, there are relevant Stoic thoughts. As Arnold describes the Stoic concept as “...the false mind-picture is an empty twitching of a soul which is not in a healthy condition; not real object corresponds to it, but to that which appears to be an object corresponding to it we give the name ‘phantasm.’...The appearances of dreams are equally phantasm.”⁸¹ Arnold goes on to state that the Stoics felt that dreams, as with phantasms, relate to a temporary form of madness. Not only are the dreams false, they lack clarity.

“As we have seen, the meaning of this is that a true mind-picture can be distinguished from one that is false by the note of clearness, and this general doctrine can be traced back to Zeno. It appears at first sight to provide a criterion which can be applied by the percipient at the moment when it is needed, and it was doubtless intended to be a practical tool in this sense; but under the pressure of criticism the Stoics were frequently compelled to modify it. They could not but admit that in the case of dreams and drunken visions it is only at a later moment that the lack of clearness can be appreciated; whereas on the other hand a picture may be perfectly clear, and yet the percipient, because of some prepossession, may not realize this. ...It follows that no mind-picture can be implicitly trusted for itself; for our sense organs may be clouded, or our previous experience in conflict with it.”⁸²

One may deduce from this passage that any relevance must be obtained when the person dreaming awakens. Once the mind, or reason, takes charge then through rational processes, the madness of the dream can be redirected as a source of inspiration.

Seneca also refers to the effects of sleep and the resulting dreams in *Epistle* 53.6-8:

“⁶ A slight fever can deceive a person, but when it increases and becomes a genuine illness, even the toughest and most enduring are forced to admit it. There’s pain in the feet, a prickling sensation in the joints; we pretend it isn’t there, saying we’ve twisted an ankle or worn ourselves out by some exertion. As long as there is doubt, as long as the disease in its early stages, we invent some specious name for it; but when it begins to

generally recognized as a literary fairy tale that expresses similar critiques of the human condition as those in Goya’s *Caprichos*.

⁸⁰ *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, p. 780. The English translations for entries from the *Diccionario*, here and later, are mine.

⁸¹ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 132 § 147.

⁸² Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 141-142 §157.

cramp up the lower leg and cause distortion in both feet, we have no choice but to admit that it is arthritis. ⁷ It is the opposite with those infirmities that affect the mind. With these, the worse one is afflicted, the less he is aware of it. There's nothing surprising in that, dear Lucilius. When one is just barely asleep, one had impressions in accordance with that state of rest and is sometimes even conscious of being asleep; deep sleep, though, blots out even our dreams, drowning the mind so deep that it has no awareness of itself at all. ⁸ Why do people not admit their faults? Because they are still in the midst of them. Dreams are told by those who are awake; admitting to one's faults is a sign of health.

Let us wake up, then, so that we will be able to recognize our mistakes. But philosophy is the only thing that will awaken us; the only thing that will arouse us from our deep sleep. ...⁸³

As with earlier Stoics, Seneca associates dreams with madness, but more specifically, Seneca relates it to ill health, to mental failings. This would suggest perhaps an issue of mental health more than physical (although if not addressed, it may become a physical problem). The part of the definition pertaining to sleep which leads to dreams, represented in the imagination, further emphasizes the importance of the imagination. The significance of the imagination in the print both corresponds to its relevance in the rest of the series and well as to Stoic thought, where imagination is a result of our sense perceptions of things around us or as a result of our bodily desires.⁸⁴ The sleep depicted in this plate also clearly presents fantastic things which in themselves are "without foundation or reason."⁸⁵ This particular state of sleep then is the perfect set of conditions needed for producing monsters.

Schulz notes the nuances between sleep and dream. In his analysis, the "dream-filled sleep" yields a "kind of vision" not connected with human perception but tied to the "inventive possibilities of the imagination" and exhibits a passive attitude toward the creative act in the plate.⁸⁶ This view of the print is certainly accurate, but there is perhaps less emphasis on the quality or type of the imagination than is present in the print. The Stoic conceptualization of

⁸³ Graver and Long, *Seneca: Letters on Ethics*, 154. This can also relate to the two halves of the *Caprichos*. See chapter three below.

⁸⁴ Bishop, 55; Diogenes Laertius *Lives*, 7.86-88.

⁸⁵ This relates to the last part of the *Diccionario* entry for "*sueño*." In addition, the use of *sueño* as dream in the title of the series reinforces the concept of uncontrolled imagination.

⁸⁶ Schulz, *Goya's Caprichos*, 105. On page 154, Schulz mentions the evolution of the caption of plate 43 as "a protracted development" that emerged over a period of time. Whereas I agree with Schulz's point of view, I feel that he is not considering all the possible aspects of the text within relation to the drawings, proofs, and the final print. I feel that the inscription on the *Sueños* drawing (figure 28 in Schulz's book, *Goya*), while it does pertain to the overall meaning of the print, it is more like a commentary than "caption" or title.

imagination (*phantasia*) is the power of the mind to form images that are the result of sense perceptions, bodily desires, or previous experiences.⁸⁷ Memory is considered stored *phantasiai*. Imagination then is explained as the “manipulation of mental content.”⁸⁸

Pl. 43 *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos. La fantasia abandonada de la razon, produce monstruos imposibles: unida con ella, es madre de las artes y origen de su maravillas.* (*The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters. Imagination abandoned by reason produces impossible monsters: united with her [Reason], she [Fantasia] is the mother of the arts and the source of their wonders.*)

The Stoic concept of *phantasia*, either in the earlier sense of rhetorical mind-pictures or the later concept of imagination similar to how we think of imagination today as a creative force associated with the arts, is embodied in pl. 43 *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos*. (The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters). The text of the print and the image are reinforcements of each other.

The definition of monster (*monstruo*), according to the *Diccionario* is as follows:

MONSTRUO. s. m. Parto, ó producción contra el orden regular de la naturaleza. *Monstrum* Qualquier cosa excesivamente grande, ó extraordinaria en qualquier línea. *Monstruum, portentum*. Lo que es sumamente feo. *Monstrum*. [Birth (origin), or the production against the regular order of nature. Anything exceedingly large, or extraordinary in any figure or line. What is extremely ugly.]⁸⁹

Each of these three parts of the definition has relevance to *The Sleep of Reason*. The first part concerning the origin (or production) of monsters, notes that they are created by going against nature.⁹⁰ The Stoic concept of “according to nature” was clarified at times to mean taking action that is against the “common laws” (the social or cultural norms) as well as to act with “good reason.” By the figure (the artist and author) sleeping, the mental control, or the part of the mind

⁸⁷ Flory, “Psychology, Rhetoric, and Imagination,” 156. Bishop, *The World of Stoical Discourse*, 55. According to Quintilian, “*phantasiai* are vivid conceptions that help make us eloquent and also assist artists in their depictions of scenes they hope to create.” Marcus Aurelius wrote that if mental images “reflect passions and unnecessary desires and lead to their satisfaction...they are bad.” Using right mental images helps application of right principles.

⁸⁸ <https://www.iep.utm.edu/stoicmind/>. “By taking elements from stored experience and enlarging, shrinking, transposing, or negating parts of the *phantasiai* it is possible to imagine monsters; thus one can produce mental content which has no real object.”

⁸⁹ *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1791), p. 574. Janice Tomlinson, in *Graphic Evolutions*, points to the *monstruos* (as similar to those seen in pl.43) which is defined in a 1786 dictionary of Terreros y Pando as “all which goes against the common natural order.” [Tomlinson, *Graphic Evolutions*, 15-16]

⁹⁰ In regard to Stoic thought, to not live according to nature was equivalent to a sin.

that is rational and capable of assent, is relaxed. This allows the monsters, the irrational thoughts and the impressions not yet given assent, to assert themselves and dominate the mind of the man. One might go so far as to suggest that the creation of the monster is the rejection of rationality. Another aspect of what makes a monster involves actions or behaviors that are taken to extremes. Again, the rational mind, which keeps the thoughts and imagination in check, is not able to prevent the excesses. The monster is also described as that which is excessively ugly. This definition of monster applies equally well to the rest of the plates in the *Caprichos* in terms of the frequency with which characters succumb to the vices of irrational behavior.

In a passage near the end of *On Tranquility of the Soul*, Seneca provides valuable information on poetics, specifically connections between passion and poetry, where he ties together the effects of poetry, genius and madness.⁹¹ Although in this essay, his emphasis is on helping Annaeus Serenus, who had a “sickness of the soul” and is uncertain as whether to pursue a public career, the end points to another state of mind. Seneca’s remarks are as follows:

“For whether we believe with the Greek poet that ‘sometimes it is a pleasure also to rave,’ or with Plato that ‘the sane mind knocks in vain at the door of poetry,’ or with Aristotle that ‘no great genius has ever existed without some touch of madness’—be that as it may, the lofty utterance that rises above the attempts of others is impossible unless the mind is excited. When it has scorned the vulgar and the commonplace, and has soared far aloft fired by divine inspiration, then alone it chants a strain too lofty for mortal lips. So long as it is left to itself, it is impossible for it to reach any sublime and difficult height; it must forsake the common track and be driven to a frenzy and champ at the bit and run away with its rider and rush to a height that it would have feared to climb by itself.”⁹²

The main points shared by Seneca’s essay and Goya’s print focus more on certain psychological issues. Poetics, or (verbal) imagery, inspires through its capacity to capture a person’s attention. Concepts expressed through poetics therefore leave a lasting impression. The (divine) inspiration, or the genius, feeds on the imagination. The excited mind, whipped to a frenzy, approaches the point of madness.⁹³

⁹¹ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 36.

⁹² Seneca, *De Tranquillitate Animi* [On Tranquility; On Tranquility of Mind] in Loeb Classical Library series Seneca *Moral Essays* volume II, translated by John W. Basore. p.285, xvii, 10-12.

⁹³ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 78 and 78 n. 35. The reference is to M.T. Griffin’s *Seneca: a philosopher in politics*, 1976, pages 321-34. On p. 334 she suggests *On tranquility* was written with the ordinary person in mind.

Simply stated, the monsters in Goya's *Caprichos* are one of two types. Firstly, the actions and beliefs held by humans. And second, the human made monstrous by his refusal to apply reason to his mental actions. Goya himself wrote a letter to Martín Zapater of superstitions learnt from his Aunt Lorenza that had once frightened him but then writes "now I have no fear of Witches, goblins, ghosts, thugs, Giants, ghouls, scallywags, etc., nor any sort of body except human."⁹⁴ These entities are the foundation of the prints in the fantastical sense as they relate to human beings and society in general.

⁹⁴ Symmons, *Goya: A life in letters*, 194.

CHAPTER II

CONTENT OF THE IMAGERY IN THE *CAPRICHOS*

The first chapter of this dissertation was concerned with the text and language in Goya's *Caprichos*. In this chapter, attention will be turned to the imagery of the prints themselves. While there are many ways to analyze the imagery of the prints, the focus here is on themes and modes of perception. The four principal modes that will be addressed are appearances, passions, morals, and madness. It is important to note that even though the prints in each of the two sections can be divided into these four modes of perception, these categories are fluid. (See chart on page 90) For example, a print may combine elements of two or more modes such as pl. 55 *Hasta la muerte* (Until Death) which exhibits passion and a touch of madness that is centered on the morals of the day. Another example is the way in which a print assigned to one mode of perception related directly to another print with a different mode. Plates 17 *Bien tirade está* (It is nicely stretched) and 31 *Ruega por ella* (She prays for her). This pair mark the progression of a young *maja* on a path to prostitution marked by the way passions (desires) can influence the morals practiced.

There is an emphasis on appearances in the *Caprichos*. This is also reflected in the literature of the time as well as that of the previous century, most notably in works by Quevedo, Cervantes, Saavedra, and Gracián. So the appearances of things perceived or imagined as well as those based on actual reality, people, and events included satirical views of contemporary behaviors. The *Caprichos* which feature social interaction are equally critical and satirical. Although the *Caprichos* in these instances act as illustrations for scenes similar to the *sainetes*, especially those by Ramón de la Cruz, they go beyond that point to offer a snapshot of the moral psychology of the characters involved. The examples offered within the *Caprichos* also function as samples of the society as a whole.

The issue of appearances is one that runs through Stoic thought and the literature of Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This concept of appearances, not only of how one presents oneself and is perceived to be by others but how external objects seem to the viewer, is also prevalent in Goya's *Caprichos*. This also relates to the Stoic moral psychology and theory of emotions as it applies to Goya's *Caprichos* with specific attention to interactions within society and the internal processes of the individual.

The Stoic concepts of moral psychology play a large part in the ability to understand the way the *Caprichos* capture some of the characteristics of his time and yet remain relevant long after.⁹⁵ One important aspect of Stoic moral psychology is the impulse, which is referred to as a necessary condition requisite to action.⁹⁶ To summarize, the impulse is a synthesis of a description and an evaluation that yields an action.⁹⁷ In relation to the *Caprichos*, the description "of a particular," in the case of a print, provides the visual equivalent of the description. This is combined with the text which can stand in for an evaluation that in turn leads to the action, or the understanding gleaned by the viewer, resulting in the impulsive impression. The prints also show the consequences of choosing indifferent objects or impressions and subsequently making bad assessments or evaluations of what is good and bad. For example, the miser who is holding bags of money while surrounded by others has an expression of pain (current emotion) and constant fear of being robbed, all of which are perceptions of his situation.⁹⁸ Goya is offering a critique of people's actions, of confusing impressions, and of assent.⁹⁹

The passions, as a mode of perception, build on the concepts introduced in the section on appearances. This mode concentrates on responses to certain situations as presented in the

⁹⁵ Seneca's moral psychology is formed by two parts of the mind (the directing part of the soul): the rational and the irrational. The irrational is then subdivided into two parts: passions (the spirited, ambitious, and uncontrolled) and pleasure (indolent).

⁹⁶ Inwood, *Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*, 265-67.

⁹⁷ Inwood, *Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*, p. 267. Tad Brennan, in reference to the impulse, specifically writes that "It is a mental event that synthesizes a description of a particular, determinate state of affairs with an evaluative attitude toward that state of affairs and leads to immediate action."

⁹⁸ There are four main species of emotion (desire, fear, pleasure, pain). These in turn are divided into subspecies. For example, jealousy, regret and mourning are subspecies of pain.

⁹⁹ Inwood, *Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*, 262. Assent is to "take the content of and impression to be an accurate representation, saying, as it were, 'yes, things really are as this impression shows them to be'."

prints as well as the possibility of intensifying or magnifying emotions. This section also looks to the desires and emotions that are both actions and reactions of the figures in the prints to their internal and external world.

The third mode of perception, on morals, looks at the way a character follows either a set of prescribed internal or societal dictates in certain instances. As such a discussion of manners will be presented in part in this section. Manners can be expressive of the condition of the mind. As such they lend themselves to serving as a satirical critique. Attitudes that are more extreme are often targets, both for the Stoics and Goya's *Caprichos*. Examples include unusual or excessive grooming and fashion, an overly developed fondness for certain food or particular preparations of foods as well as other exotic goods, and social interactions.¹⁰⁰

Madness, the fourth mode of perception, is not absolute but a matter of degree. The mildest form of madness could be presented as making irrational choices by not choosing a true mental action to allowing one's desires or emotions have sway over everyday decisions. Moderate madness, then, is in the effects of drunken behavior (pl 18 *Ysele quema la casa*), deliriums (plates 3 *Que viene el coco*, 12 *A caza de dientes*, and 52 *Lo que puede en Sastre!*), and dreams (pl. 43 *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos*) or daydreams (pl. 73 *Mejor es holgar*).¹⁰¹

The *Caprichos* are generally recognized as having two almost equal parts. Although they are typically seen as the prints pertaining to real life in the first part and fantasy in the second, it is also accepted that the prints also read as a social (and political) study, or critique. The *Caprichos* also offer a more psychological study of society as depicted. The first half represents the more obvious, everyday life situations or abnormalities within the rational. The second half presents the dark undercurrents of society as portrayed by demons and witches. These figures embrace the

¹⁰⁰ The subject of grooming, and personal presentation, was mentioned by the Stoics (including Zeno, Seneca and Epictetus). (See Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*.) Hollander brings up this topic in her discussion of clothing as well. She noted that "[i]n ancient Rome, according to Martial, Seneca, and others, body depilation for men was practiced, but it was ridiculed as a sign of effeminate dandyism; and it was evidently a customary refinement, though not a hygienic necessity, for women." [Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 136]

¹⁰¹ Pl. 18 *And his house is on fire*; pl. 3 *Here comes the Boogey-man*; pl. 12 *Out hunting teeth*; pl 52 *What a tailor can do!*; pl. 43 *The sleep of reason produces monsters*; pl. 73 *It's better to be lazy*.

representation of the irrational. If not corrected, the behaviors and actions (both mental and physical) become the abnormalities of the rational that can progress and exhibit the adverse effects of the unconstrained irrational. Also presented is the way one thought or action can be related to another. For example, the witch as a symbol for prostitutes.

APPEARANCE (*PHANTASIA*)

It is necessary to begin this section with a brief account of the two concepts of *phantasia* developed by the Stoics. A.A. Long asserted in his book, *Stoic Studies*, that “there is no agreed translation of *phantasia*, and no single modern word is entirely apt,” but provides some terms that are most commonly adopted, which in English includes “appearance,” “impression,” “presentation,” and “representation.”¹⁰² One way to understand the Stoic concept of *phantasia*, in the sense of imagination, is that it provides the mental capacity to envision and to make others aware of things unseen.¹⁰³ Zeno’s innovation in the logical and rhetorical sense of *phantasia* was that “assent is the acceptance of a proposition presented in experience or thought as the content of an impression (*phantasia*) and as being true” and by “assenting to such a proposition is what we would call an act of judgment.”¹⁰⁴

As a starting point for the Stoic epistemological system, *phantasia* is an impression or appearance that provides a thought that becomes a proposition which is either given assent or not. John Sellars describes this as a three step process. The first proposition consists of a perception of an external event or thing which is then joined with a second proposition where a value judgment is added to a first proposition and is involuntary and seemingly unconscious about the content of the perception. Secondly, an impression (*phantasia*) is a proposition

¹⁰² Long, *Stoic Studies*, 268 n. 10. Long also writes that he finds that “representation” is the most effective word, particularly for the chapter under discussion. Other scholars choose differently. For example, Watson, Sellars, Graver and Cooper refer to *phantasia* as “impression,” others choose different terms such as George Long who used “appearance.”

¹⁰³ Flory, “Stoic Psychology, Classical Rhetoric, and Theories of Imagination in Western Philosophy,” 148. The capacity to envision, according to Flory, is what gives rise to art, poetry and oratory.

¹⁰⁴ Strange and Zupko *Stoicism: Traditions and Transformations*, 35.

composed of both perceptual data (external) and value judgment (unconscious). A third action is the assent or rejection of the impression (*phantasia*).¹⁰⁵

Dan Flory, in his article “Psychology, Rhetoric, and Imagination,” presented a different view of *phantasia* centered in rhetoric. This account is in line with the earlier Stoic definition of *phantasia*. According to Flory, imagination was developed as a crucial aid for oratory in “theoretical writings of classic rhetorical tradition.”¹⁰⁶ One possible reason for the omission of how the concept of *phantasia* as creative imagination for the arts was employed is that the earlier Stoic conceptualization of *phantasia* was found principally in classical rhetoric, not in philosophy.¹⁰⁷ In reference to the anthology of Stoic texts by Long and Sedley, Flory states that “none of the primary philosophical texts in which the theory was originally characterized exist any longer, so we know of it mainly through uncertain fragments and paraphrases.”¹⁰⁸

There is, however, an account in Seneca’s letters that clearly encapsulates the Stoic thought on the rhetorical aspect of *phantasia*.

“¹⁸ No animate creature endowed with reason does anything unless, first, it has been prompted by the impression [*phantasia*] of some particular thing; next, it has entertained an impulse; and finally, assent has confirmed this impulse. Let me tell you what assent is. “It is fitting for me to walk”: I walk only after I have told myself this and have approved my judgment. “It is fitting for me to sit”: then only do I sit.” This assent is not found in virtue.”¹⁰⁹

It is necessary to note that impulse in Stoic terminology does not mean what it does to us today.

In his article “Stoic Moral Psychology,” Tad Brennan states that “the words ‘impulse’ and ‘impulsive’ have misleading connotations of whimsy or obsession, which form no part of the Stoic

¹⁰⁵ Sellars, *Stoicism*, 67.

¹⁰⁶ Flory, “Psychology, Rhetoric, and Imagination,” 148. The time reference Flory gives is from the the time of Cicero and “several centuries after.”

¹⁰⁷ Flory, “Psychology, Rhetoric, and Imagination,” 149.

¹⁰⁸ Flory, “Psychology, Rhetoric, and Imagination,” 149. These reports were also identified as “hostile secondhand reports.”

¹⁰⁹ Seneca, *Letters, Ep.* 113.18. Epictetus also mentions something along these lines in Fragment No. 9: “The way things look to the mind (what philosophers call ‘impressions’) have an immediate psychological impact and are not subject to one’s wishes, but force human beings to recognize them by a certain inherent power. But the acts of approval (what philosophers call ‘assents’) are voluntary and involve human judgement. ...” (Epictetus, *The Discourses (Everyman)*, Fragment #9, 309) It is interesting to note the connection Epictetus makes between *phantasia* and psychology.

picture....”¹¹⁰ Brennan goes on to describe impulse as being rational, both necessary and sufficient for action, and an assent.¹¹¹ Brennan also asserts that “impulses in the Stoic view are psychological events” and that one sub-type of impulse is desire.¹¹² Seneca wrote that “all voluntary behavior is analyzed in terms of mental events called ‘impulses,’ each of which takes the form of an assent to some mental impression.”¹¹³

One example used in connection with rhetorical *phantasia* in relation to the emotions as presented by Chrysippus (as described by Cicero) and Posidonius is in the instance of someone receiving bad news. At that point a person is either able to do one of two things. If they can visualize the event in their mind, then they are using imagination. If the person is unable to visualize the event, then they have a failure of imagination. The final phase is an emotional response in the case of imagination and a lack of emotional response with the failure to visualize.¹¹⁴

In terms of the creative sense of *phantasia*, the process could be described as beginning with the artist who has an inspiration (an idea or belief) that the artist combines with an emotion, which in turn produces their mental image. This image is then translated into one of the arts (plastic arts, poetry, and oratory were the subjects mentioned by the Stoics). Once the work is completed, it is presented to the audience who receives their own mental image or belief based on their judgement. Finally the viewers or audience will either have an emotional response or they will not. This is the progression of *phantasia* presented by Longinus, Philostratus and Quintillian.¹¹⁵

In short, there seems to be two parts to the Stoic concept of creative imagination (*phantasia*). The first part, which could also be viewed as independent, is the imagination that leads the artist to create work. The second part is the imagination as an active process that is

¹¹⁰ See Tad Brennan, “Stoic Moral Psychology” in *The Cambridge Companion to Stoics*, 265-66. See also pages 260-62 on impressions.

¹¹¹ Tad Brennan, “Stoic Moral Psychology,” 265.

¹¹² Tad Brennan, “Stoic Moral Psychology,” 266.

¹¹³ Seneca, *Letters*, 542. *Ep.* 71.32: “True and unshakable judgement, for from this come the impulses of the mind; by this, every impression that stimulates impulse is rendered perfectly clear.” (221)

¹¹⁴ See Seneca, *Letters*, 76-79.

¹¹⁵ See Watson, *Phantasia*.

dependent on two or more people, or a process that needs the audience to complete the response.

Flavius Philostratus, in his work *Life of Apollonius*, addresses *phantasia*, and imagination, in art. According to Philostratus, *phantasia* is “mental capacity that allows one to both envision and make others aware of other realms not seen.”¹¹⁶ This marks the shift from rhetorical emphasis, and moves the concept of *phantasia* from impression to imagination. This conceptualization of *phantasia* is noted to be closer to the modern definition of imagination.

Goethe's novel, *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, represented the modified Stoic value of “a prudently cautious attitude towards the imagination.”¹¹⁷ Bishop focuses on the Stoic concept of imagination (*phantasia*) as “the power to form images in the mind, either as a result of our sense perceptions of things around us or as a result of our bodily desires” and “in themselves, such images are neither good nor bad, until the mind makes a judgement about them.”¹¹⁸ In Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* (Book VII No 2, p 56), mental images are good if they are under the control of the directing mind (*to hegemonikon*), in accordance with right principles and lead to the right actions. If mental images “reflect passions and unnecessary desires and lead to their satisfaction...they are bad.” Using right mental images helps application of right principles. In Goethe's novel, none of the mental images (or *Bilder*) represents such a correct use of *phantasia*.¹¹⁹

Some Spanish concepts correspond to the Stoic concept of *phantasia*. One is *Sueño*, a very popular literary concept that began with Quevedo and was quickly adopted (and adapted) by other Spanish writers through the 17th and 18th centuries. Quevedo's *Los Sueños* presents a satirical view of his times in the form of dreams, or visions. In a way the dream is a mirror of the faults Quevedo sees in his time. It could be suggested that the *Sueños* reflect both in the sense of displaying the faults and in causing people (the readers) to reflect in the hope of taking some

¹¹⁶ Flory, “Psychology, Rhetoric, and Imagination,” 149. See also Gerard Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought* and “Discovering the Imagination: Platonists and Stoics on *phantasia*” in *The Question of Eclecticism*. “Philostratus's description of *phantasia*, however, ultimately has its primary roots in the classical philosophical tradition of the Stoics.” [Flory, 149]

¹¹⁷ Bishop, *The World of Stoical Discourse...*, 55.

¹¹⁸ Bishop, *The World of Stoical Discourse...*, 55.

¹¹⁹ Bishop, *The World of Stoical Discourse...*, 55.

action in response. Quevedo's *Los Sueños* was popular and its influence is seen in Goya's *Caprichos*.

Another concept is "*al revés*", the world upside down. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea de un príncipe político-crístico* 1640-42, a collection of *empresas* (political maxims), also relates to Goya's work.¹²⁰ One example is an *empresa* by Saavedra, "*O Subir o bajar*," which is identical in the verbs used in the title of *Caprichos* pl. 56 *Subir y bajar* (To rise and to fall). Whereas, Saavedra's maxim is an either or situation, in Goya's print it is both the rise and the fall.¹²¹ In terms of the visual elements, the two are very different. Saavedra's maxim is a landscape with an arrow pointed upward that is suspended above the ground with a banner around the arrow that says "*o subir o bajar*." This image is framed by an elaborate decorative frame. In contrast, Goya's "*Subir y bajar*" depicts a satyr sitting on the globe of Earth raising one figure, while two others fall.¹²²

One example of the range of *phantasia* in terms of mental concepts to the variety enabled by imagination to give form to a topic can be seen in plates from the *Caprichos* on the subject of beards and shaving. One example from the *Caprichos* is Pl 20 *Ya van desplumados* (There they go plucked) where the man is figuratively sheared. In pl. 35 *Le descañona* (She fleeces him) the close shave is literal. However, a brief mention of the Stoic thoughts concerning beards, specifically the Philosopher's beard, and personal grooming in general, is necessary to give context for the *Caprichos*. The number of prints that either directly or indirectly refer to grooming is perhaps surprising. For example, in pl. 51 *Se repulen* (They spruce themselves up), the witches seem to place value on attention to extreme grooming practices; whereas in pl. 29 *Esto sí que es leer* (That is certainly being able to read) the fashionable practices are ridiculed. Beard was considered a symbol for philosophers with the beliefs of a particular school depending on the style of the beard.¹²³ According to the Sophists, "to shave is to custom or convention while

¹²⁰ *Empresas* are characterized for their avoidance of the human figure in image.

¹²¹ Goya's subtle take on the wording is more in line with some of the more cynical thoughts of Stoicism.

¹²² See Levitine's article, "Goya's 'Subir y Bajar': Pan and Ambition," for one interpretation of this print. One point that could be argued is that the figure raised is holding smoke, or *pneuma*, rather than the suggested wigs belonging to his unfortunate predecessors.

¹²³ Sellars, *The Art of Living*, 15-16.

to sport a beard is according to nature.”¹²⁴ John Sellars noted that “...for the stoics φύσις (according to nature) has a more positive content and living in accordance with nature becomes identified with living in accordance with Reason.”¹²⁵ Sellars also observed that the idea that the philosophical and ideological views held by a person, or the Philosopher, can be seen in their external attributes has some relation to physiognomy.¹²⁶ Ancient physiognomy, as Sellars states, was defined as the attempt to uncover the individual’s character by means of bodily movements or physical characteristics, and the physical attributes are out of the person’s control the focus is on behavior.¹²⁷ These points relate to Goya in that even though he is not attempting to live as a philosopher, he uses similar techniques/approaches to study nature, or the world around him, specifically human nature. His interest in physiognomy is noted. George Levitine and Lopez-Rey have both studied the aspects of physiognomy in some of Goya’s drawings and the general interest of his peers in the subject. In terms of nature, Goya even wrote of “nature” being one of his principal teachers, influencing his work along with Velazquez and Rembrandt.

The article, “On the Pleasures of the Imagination” (*Spectator*, 3 July 1712), written by Joseph L. Addison and translated into Spanish by Goya’s friend José Louis Munárriz, was particularly influential. As Addison wrote “[w]hen the brain is hurt by an accident, or the mind disordered by dreams or sickness, the fancy is overrun with wild dismal ideas, and terrified with a thousand hideous monsters of its own framing.”¹²⁸ The correlation between this quote and plate 43 of the *Caprichos*, as well as general concepts in the announcement Goya placed in the *Diario*, is quite clear.

On a similar thought Alexander Gerard in “An Essay on Genius” (1774) wrote that “without judgement, imagination would be extravagant; but without imagination, judgment could

¹²⁴ Sellars, *The Art of Living*, 17.

¹²⁵ Sellars, *The Art of Living*, 17 note 14. See also Epictetus, *Diss.*, 3.1.25. “For Epictetus, the true philosopher will only act accordingly to reason or according to nature, rejecting the arbitrary conventions that guide the behavior of everyone else.”

¹²⁶ Sellars, *The Art of Living*, 19 note 23.

¹²⁷ Sellars, *The Art of Living*, 19 note 23.

¹²⁸ Addison, “On the Pleasures of the Imagination,” in *The Spectator*, n^o. 421, Thursday, July 3, 1712; p. 120. (See reference to Addison in Phillip Hoffer’s Introduction to *Goya’s Caprichos*.) It is interesting that Addison’s article on imagination shares many similarities with Stoic (and Neostoic) thought since he was strongly opposed to Stoic thought. Lopez-Rey also noted the relationship between the commentary for pl. 43 and a passage from Addison’s *Essay* (p. 81).

do nothing.”¹²⁹ This quote associates closely with Stoic thought in the process of determining whether to accept a thought or statement or to dismiss it. Judgment is comprised of many affirmations, which build on one another until a statement is accepted or declined. (For example, Is it light? If it is light, it is day.) Likewise, in the *Caprichos*, judgments are faced by almost every primary figure. The imagination, or *phantasia*, is within the realm of possibility.

Seneca the Elder, according to Gerard Watson contrasts what the eyes see and the vision in the mind:

“Phidias never saw Jove, but he nevertheless represented him as thundering; Minerva did not stand before his eyes, but his mind, that matched such superb technique, formed a concept of gods and put them on view.” ... The great dramatist and orator must have the power of visualizing a scene and then placing it before the mental vision of his audience: that is why he must have *phantasia*, according to “Longinus” and Quintilian.¹³⁰

In a footnote Watson noted that the importance of the metaphor “eyes of the mind” was in “[t]he frequency of this metaphor is due perhaps to the fact that the phrase expresses what we mean by ‘imagination.’”¹³¹

Seneca echoes the thought, writing: “When we become devotees of wisdom, we are given access not to some local shrine but to the mighty temple of all the gods, the vault of heaven itself, whose phenomena are brought before the mind’s eye as they really are; for ordinary vision is inadequate to register so vast a spectacle.”¹³² Seneca goes further, suggesting that although the eyes are not always a reliable sensory organ, they can be treated and vision improved. Likewise the mind (and the mind’s eye) can be freed from impairments. In *Epistle* 115.16, Seneca wrote “[b]ut just as medicines can cleanse our eyes and sharpen our vision, so also, if only we are willing, we can free our minds of every impediment to their vision.”¹³³

¹²⁹ Alexander Gerard, “An Essay on Genius” (1774), 38. Although the Scottish philosopher was a stoic but was influenced by Stoic thought, Cicero and etc., as well as other 18th century thinkers who were influenced by Stoicism.

¹³⁰ Gerard Watson, “Discovering the Imagination” 208-233 in Dillon and Long, *The Question of Eclecticism*. The citation for Seneca the Elder’s quotation is listed as: *Contr.* 10.5.8, trans. Winterbottom, Loeb Classical Library.

¹³¹ Watson cites Pease in his note on Cicero *ND* 1.19

¹³² Seneca, *Letters, Ep.* 90.26-28, particularly 90.28.

¹³³ Seneca, *Letters, Ep.* 115.6. See also Seneca *Ep.* 65.4ff.; 65.2; 80.2. Other sources on Stoic imagination (*phantasia*): Diogenes Laertius, Cicero, Philostratus, Seneca Elder, Seneca Younger.

The announcement placed in the *Diario de Madrid* advertising the *Caprichos* has received attention from scholars who note the literary and sophisticated nature of the announcement. Some scholars, such as F. J. Sanchez Canton, R. Hughes, and F. D. Klingender, felt that the announcement was written by an enlightened friend of Goya's, possibly Ceán Bermúdez.¹³⁴ One problem with this view of Goya as a "man of little learning" and the advertisement is that it ignores Goya's library, his use of the libraries and collections of his friends, and his attendance at the *tertulias* (salons) of prominent *ilustrados*. [The existence of another announcement dated 1799 for a set of 72 prints, but missing the location of sale, is otherwise identical to the advertisement actually published in the *Diario de Madrid*, is curious. This draft was included with a copy of the commentary said to be "in Goya's hand" that was in the possession of Ceán Bermúdez before passing to Carderera.]

The first part of the announcement is similar to thoughts expressed by the Stoics, primarily by Seneca. For example, Seneca's "mind's eye" is multiplied and expanded into the "eyes of the public" referred to by Goya's advertisement. Also, the reference to the "darkness and confusion of an irrational mind" in Goya's notice draws on Seneca's views on the mind as cited in *Epistle* 92 and uncontrolled emotions, or passions, in general. This also points toward Stoic thoughts on madness which will be addressed later.

Diario de Madrid 1799 Announcement

A collection of prints of imaginary subjects, [*phantasia* and *phantastikon*] invented and etched by Don Francisco Goya. The author is convinced that it is as proper for painting to criticize human error and vice as for poetry and prose to do so [aligns closely with Stoic concepts as seen in Seneca's work especially], although criticism is usually taken to be exclusively the province of literature. He has selected from amongst the innumerable foibles and follies to be found in any civilized society, and from the common prejudices and deceitful practices which custom, ignorance or self-interest have hallowed, those subjects he feels to be the most suitable material for satire [again this aligns with Stoic thought, almost textbook on how to create a stoic text especially with the Imperial Roman Stoic emphasis on rhetoric and moral (psychology)], and which, at the same time, stimulate the artist's imagination. [This correlates with the interaction between *hegemonikon* (the directing mind) and *phantasia* (impressions of "things" or imagination). See also the work of Philostratus.]

Since most of the subjects depicted in this work are not real, it is not unreasonable to hope that connoisseurs will readily overlook their defects.

The author [creator] has not followed the precedents of any other artist, nor has he been able to copy Nature herself. It is very difficult to imitate Nature, and a successful

¹³⁴ Lopez-Rey, *Goya's Caprichos*, v. 1, 78-81.

imitation is worthy of admiration. [Mimesis] He who departs entirely from Nature will surely merit high esteem, since he has to put before the eyes of the public forms and poses which have only existed previously in the darkness and confusion of an irrational mind, or one which is beset by uncontrolled passion. [Looking inward to the interior states of mind as the basis for artistic creation.¹³⁵ This is not limited to the advertisement, applying equally well to the prints.]

The public is not so ignorant of the Fine Arts that it needs to be told that the author has intended no satire [ridicule] of the personal defects of any specific individual in any of his compositions. [The last phrase of this sentence is used to give the artist a degree of plausible deniability.] Such particularized satire imposes undue limitations on an artist's talents, and also mistakes the way in which perfection [in association with Neoclassical aesthetic and an ideal beauty] is to be achieved through imitation in art.

Painting (like poetry) chooses from universals what is most apposite. [For the Stoics poetry was the highest form of art. See Seneca, Philostratus, et al. The reason being the way it could encompass mental images and concepts, both broad and specific.] It brings together in a single imaginary being, circumstances and characteristics which occur in nature in many different persons. [This echoes contemporary academic thought.] With such and ingeniously arranged combination of properties the artist produces a faithful likeness, but also earns the title of inventor rather than that of servile copyist.¹³⁶ [The advertisement can be understood as juxtapositions that refer to and transform key elements in contemporary aesthetics.]

In a letter from Goya to addressed to Vice-Protector, Bernardo de Iriarte, dated 4 January 1794, Glendinning presents this letter as a personal expression of his feelings after an illness, stating: "It is natural that he should have sought an emotional outlet in painting, just as poets from classical times sought it in poetry."¹³⁷ In the letter, Goya emphasizes the imagination as a way to present artistic expression as well as the professional possibilities in a consumer environment less dominated by commissions.

"In order to use my imagination which has been painfully preoccupied with my illness and my misfortunes, and to offset the expenditure I have inevitably incurred, I set out to paint a group of small pictures, in which I have managed to include observations of subjects which would not normally fall within the scope of commissioned works, in which there is no room for the inventive powers and inspiration of imagination. ..."¹³⁸

In terms of the *phantasia*, moving in the direction of our understanding of imagination, Diogenes Laertius wrote that "[t]he appearances of dreams are equally *phantasm*."¹³⁹ The dream

¹³⁵ See Schulz, *Goya*, 103.

¹³⁶ This translation of the *Diario* announcement is from Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 49.

¹³⁷ Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics*, 46-47.

¹³⁸ Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics*, 46-47.

¹³⁹ Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, vii, 50. Diogenes also expanded on this theme, writing "There is a difference between the process and the outcome of presentation. The latter is a semblance in the mind such as may occur in sleep, while the former is the act of imprinting something on the soul, which is a process of change, as set forth by Chryssipus in the second book of his treatise *Of the Soul* (De anima)." See also

or *phantasia* then can never have the clarity of a “true vision,” or reality.¹⁴⁰ This links the Stoic thought to the literary tradition and the way each scenario in the *Caprichos* seems distorted and dream-like.

Goya presents a series of false beliefs and questionable behaviors in the *Caprichos*, such as actions driven by emotions (passions) or superstitions, and uses satire as a means to “correct” or to urge “corrections”. These beliefs and behaviors rely on appearances to present the concepts and the viewer’s reactions in the form of judgments and assents. The methods of depicting certain situations in the *Caprichos* seem to reflect at least one of the two principle issues of Stoic moral psychology, the passions.¹⁴¹ Seneca’s description of the mind in *Epistle* 92 is that it is divided into two parts, the rational and the irrational, with the irrational subdivided into two parts: the part consisting of the passions and the part given to pleasure.¹⁴² (See Fig. 1 below) In turn, the passions (emotions), identified as an irrational element within the mind, are viewed as a perversion of reason.¹⁴³ The third part of mind is not the Stoic passion of desire, but a non-rational attraction for pleasure, free from any act of judgment.¹⁴⁴ In addition, Seneca assigns two main tasks to reason: to defeat the passions and to regulate pleasure.¹⁴⁵

Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 132. The Stoics theory of imagination is the third classical theory, following that of Plato and Aristotle, but is the only one that is closer to the modern conception of imagination. See Flory, *Psychology, Rhetoric, and Imagination*, 148]

¹⁴⁰ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 132. Arnold also states that the “mind-picture is not within man’s control; but it rests with him to decide whether he will give it his assent.”

¹⁴¹ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 228. The two issues of Stoic moral psychology are the structure of the mind, and concerning the passions.

¹⁴² Seneca *Ep.* 92.1, 8. This division only occurs in this *Epistle*, nowhere else in Seneca’s writings.

¹⁴³ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 229.

¹⁴⁴ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 229.

¹⁴⁵ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 230.

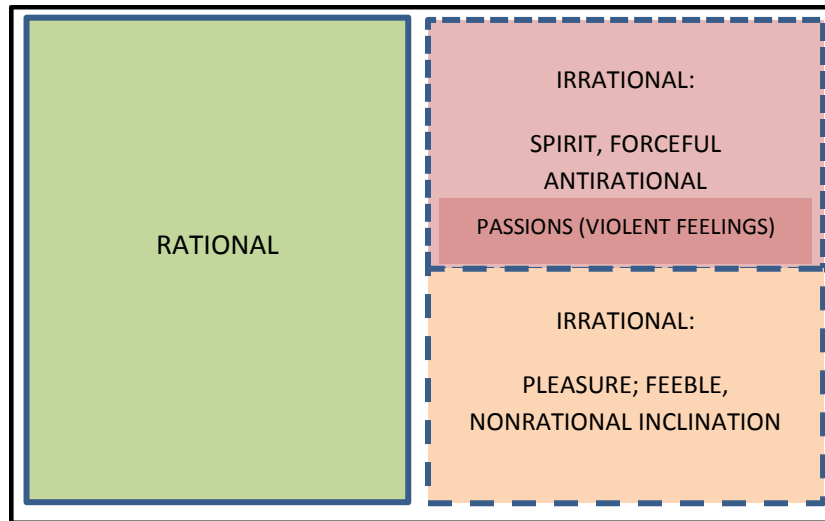


Fig. 1 Diagram of the different parts of the mind according to Seneca, *Epistle* 92.1,8 . Rational thought is the “only part that directs the person as a whole.” (*Letters on Ethics* 558). The irrational is at the service of the rational. Irrational top: the “Emotion and impulse” (*Letters on Ethics* 558) directs the mind (spirit). Irrational bottom: the “movement and nourishment” (*Letters on Ethics* 558) directs the body voluntary or involuntary.¹⁴⁶

Seneca further addresses passion in *De Ira* (*On Anger*). Here, Seneca asserts that there are “three kinds of motion for gradation of passion.”¹⁴⁷ The first motion is voluntary, which Seneca identifies as *propatheia* (pre-emotion), which is defined as a thought which crosses the mind without gaining one’s assent. (i.e. anger). The second motion is just the emotion (anger) itself and involves assent. This second motion is joined by a violation, meaning it is still under the control of reason (i.e. wish, as in to take revenge). The third motion is when the emotion is no longer under control of reason.

The process is a thought or simple emotion that leads to a passion, and potentially to an action. The basis for this is expressed more fully in Seneca’s essay *De Ira* than in his *Epistle* 92; however, in *Epistle* 18.14-15, Seneca also wrote briefly of anger and provided an example of action in the form of a maxim by Epicurus: “Anger beyond bounds begets insanity.”¹⁴⁸ Brad Inwood, in his work on Seneca’s psychology, provides a useful way to interpret Seneca’s thought

¹⁴⁶ Seneca, *Letters*, 558.

¹⁴⁷ Bartsch and Schiesaro, *Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, 231; Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 52.

¹⁴⁸ Seneca, *Letters*, 69.

process based particularly on *De Ira* and *Epistle 92*.¹⁴⁹ The process begins with an emotion, which at this starting point is considered inert, and a stimulus. (While what Seneca defines as the stimulus is vague it is generally an event.) This leads to a voluntary judgement or assent, defined as a conscious mental control in reaction to the soul's (prior) response. The judgment or assent then yields a response typically considered excessive. The result is passion, such as anger, which is then a potential stimulus for action. In short, this links appearances, identified as thing on which judgments are made or assent in question, and passion (emotion in excess) to trigger some kind of action. This process continues for each new thought or emotion.

This development of emotion into a more intense state of passion and any resulting action has parallels in the *Caprichos*. An emotion such as reluctance, spite or glee in an earlier print becomes intensified in a later print. For example, in pl. 12 *A caza de dientes* (Out hunting teeth), a superstitious woman displays reluctance, or a fear of the impending activity.¹⁵⁰ Although the woman has decided to take action based on her belief in bewitchment and is also motivated by desire. The woman seems to justify her actions since they support her irrational beliefs in superstition, such as love spells, although she cannot bear to look at what she is doing. Fear and desire, possible even distress in the form of jealousy, are still relatively simple in this print in comparison to the witchcraft prints in the second half where the passions are taken to extremes. One example is the relation of manipulation the superstitious nature of susceptible people. Whereas the woman shows reluctance hunting teeth, the impetuous fool goes of "half anointed" in his haste to meet his mistress in pl 67 *Aguarda que te unten* (Wait till you've been anointed).

The subject of witchcraft in the *Caprichos* is well known and studied. However, there is another way of understanding the topic of *phantasia* and appearances in general in relation to witchcraft as presented in the *Caprichos*. To begin, there is the issue of *superstitio* (superstition) as defined by the Stoics.¹⁵¹ Cicero defined *superstitio* as *religio* that is "carried to extremes" as

¹⁴⁹ See Inwood's chapter, "Seneca and psychological dualism" (150-183), in *Passions & Perceptions: Studies in Hellenistic Philosophy of Mind*. See also, Inwood's *Ethics and Human Action in Early Stoicism*.

¹⁵⁰ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 54 and 56. The two charts identifying and defining the genus and species of emotions is most helpful.

¹⁵¹ See also Dale Martin, *Inventing Superstition*, 128.

well as “used for base ends.”¹⁵² According to Seneca, *superstitio* “is *religio* without understanding.”¹⁵³ Augustine also cites a book written by Seneca against superstition.

Augustine’s account of part of the book includes a reference to images in the following passage:

“For in that book which he wrote against superstition, he more copiously and vehemently censured that civil and urban theology than Varro the theatrical and fabulous. For, when speaking concerning images, he says ‘They dedicate images of the sacred and inviolable immortals in most worthless and motionless matter. They give them the appearance of man, beasts, and fishes, and some make them of mixed sex, and heterogeneous bodies. They call them dieties, when they are such that if they should get great and should suddenly meet them, they would be monsters.’ ... ‘Tyrants have lacerated the limbs of some; they never ordered any one to lacerate his own.’ ... ‘They (people) kill themselves in temples. They supplicate with their wounds and with their blood. If anyone has time to see the things they do and the things they suffer, he will find so many things unseemly for men of respectability, so unworthy of freemen, so unlike the doings of sane men, that no one would doubt that they are mad, had they been mad with the minority; but now the multitude of the insane is the defense of their sanity.’ ... He next relates those things which are wont to be done in the Capitol, and with the utmost intrepidity insists that they are such things as one could only believe to be done by men making sport, or by mad men. ...”¹⁵⁴

This relates to the distortions and monsters conjured in the second half of the *Caprichos*. Plates 44 through 48 pertain to witches in various passive settings. In contrast, plates 65 through 70 show witches in some of their activities. These two groups of prints embody the way that Goya brings the concepts of the abuses and perversions into a visual reality.

Spanish literature and popular tradition also provided material for the visualization of Goya’s witches and goblins; however, Goya used these as a means to attack the superstitions and social abuses of his age.¹⁵⁵ The *Auto de fe celebrado en la ciudad de Logroño en los días 6 y 7 de noviembre del año de 1610* (The witch trials in the city of Logroño on the sixth and seventh of November in the year of 1610) was famous Spanish witchcraft trial which had an impact on Spanish culture and literature. Both Jovellanos and Moratín the Younger provided Goya with access to information on witchcraft. Moratín produced an account of the *Auto-de-fé* with commentaries.¹⁵⁶ In 1795, Jovellanos published a copy of the *Malleus maleficarum*, noted in his

¹⁵² Cicero, *Nature of the Gods*, 1.42.117.

¹⁵³ Seneca, *Moral Epistles*, 95.35.

¹⁵⁴ Augustine, *City of God*, book VI, ch 10 (trans. by Rev. Marcus Dods 1888) pg. 201-203.

¹⁵⁵ *Reason and Folly*, National Gallery of Victoria. 37 and 39.

¹⁵⁶ Hults, *The Witch as Muse*, 230-232. It is believed that Moratín began in 1797 his annotation of a 17th century pamphlet on the 1610 auto-de-fe at Logroño. Although “Moratín’s annotations were not

journal. Goya had already explored some ideas (on witchcraft) earlier, in 1788, in the cabinet paintings for the Osunas and the *Sueños*. Wilson-Bareau also points to the “first appearance of ‘monsters’” in one of the altarpieces for the cathedral at Valencia.¹⁵⁷

Part of the interest in witchcraft in Goya’s time, aside from the amusement provided by superstitious action, may be interpreted as a distant relation to looking to nature for knowledge. One key element of the Enlightenment was the use of sense perceptions in the various fields of learning. Likewise according to the Stoics, especially prior to the Roman Imperial period, valued the senses and this played an essential role in their theory.

In the Roman Imperial period, as opposed to the early Stoic views of favoring sense perception, there was “a growing spirit of humility and pessimism led to a general disparagement of human knowledge, centering in attacks on the trustworthiness of the senses.”¹⁵⁸ Seneca, in *Naturales quaestiones*, speaks of the “usual weakness; of the sense of sight,”¹⁵⁹ and Marcus Aurelius felt that “the organs of sense are dim and easily imposed upon.”¹⁶⁰

Epictetus, in *The Art of Living*, wrote two relevant observations on the sense of vision as concerns appearances and reality. The first is “[o]pen your eyes: See things for what they really are, thereby sparing yourself the pain of false attachments and avoidable devastation.”¹⁶¹ The second states “[i]nstead of averting your eyes from the painful events of life, look at them squarely and contemplate them often. By facing the realities of death, infirmity, loss, and disappointment, you free yourself of illusions and false hopes and you avoid miserable, envious

published until 1811,” but Helman concluded that he must have shared his manuscript with Goya as the artist developed the Osuna paintings and the *Caprichos*.

¹⁵⁷ Wilson-Bareau, *Goya in Norton Simon Museum*, 91. Wilson-Bareau also notes that the first ten *Sueños* present witchcraft as an allegory: of human behavior, attacking religious superstition, evil influences on young women, the abuse of children... . (p.100). Albert Boime noted that the “*afrancesados* did not miss the connection between the witch hunts of the past and the persecutions of the present.” [Boime, *Social History* 2, 252-53] In addition, Boime noted that the Osunas “are central to an understanding of Goya’s interpretation of theocratic mysticism and witchcraft. It was a topic of discussion at their *tertulia* and a subject of scientific investigation on the part of their friends.” [p. 255]

¹⁵⁸ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 144. Arnold also wrote that “the older Stoics had admitted to the frequent errors of the senses, but they had been confident they could surmount this difficulty” but later Stoics viewed it differently and consequently the “practice of ‘suspension of judgement’” became the rule rather than the exception.

¹⁵⁹ Seneca, *N. Q.*, I, 2,3.

¹⁶⁰ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 144. The passage quoted from Marcus Aurelius, *To himself*, v 33 reads “the organs of sense are dim and easily imposed upon.” (See Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*,)

¹⁶¹ Epictetus, *The Art of Living*, 7.

thoughts.”¹⁶² Although the thoughts expresses here by Epictetus, particularly the first, are more closely related to Gracián’s maxims, these thoughts also resonate in Goya’s *Caprichos*.

Andrew Schulz in *Goya’s Caprichos*, emphasizes the Enlightenment preference of the eighteenth century given to the senses, especially sight, and applies this in particular to Goya. The sense of sight without doubt plays a large part in the *Caprichos*. I feel Goya’s views are influenced by the Enlightenment, but are closer to the Stoics based on the content and context of the prints featuring sight and perception and the failure thereof. The frequency in which one person, or group, cannot recognize what another person is, or fails to see things as they are as opposed to what they desire, as well as the recurring motif of glasses (frequently in scenarios indicating nearsightedness) all seem to align more with the remarks of Seneca and Marcus Aurelius. The characteristics of *majismo* define these elements within Goya’s contemporary Spanish society and culture.

The issue of appearances (*phantasia*) is presented in different ways in each part of the *Caprichos*. In the first half, the appearances are more superficial and in general more social. The second half, presents the manifestation of internal thoughts or beliefs as well as certain social tendencies that tend to be more private or exclusive to a select group.

One example from the first part, pl. 6 *Nadie se conoce* (Nobody knows himself) is an apt example regarding appearances and judgment. In this print there is suggested to be little possibility of ever being able to fully give assent to judgments made regarding the image. In fact, the commentary supports this: “*El mundo es una mascara, el rostro, el traje y lavoz, todo es fingido. Todos quieren aparenta lo que no son, todos engañan y nadie se conoce.*” (The world is a masquerade. Faces, dress and voice, all are false. All wish to appear what they are not, all deceive and do not even know themselves.)”¹⁶³ This begs the question can anyone understand another person if they do not understand themselves first.

The figures in the lower right foreground are the central characters. Of the other figures crowding the background, only these figures (grotesques) watch the couple. The gaze of the

¹⁶² Epictetus, *The Art of Living*, 28.

¹⁶³ The English translations of the commentaries are by Tomás Harris. (For comparison, see translations by Lopez-Rey’s *Goya’s Caprichos*.)

figure furthest in the background (behind the bowing person's head), is turned to the figure furthest to the right. The figure almost centered in the upper third of the plate watches the person bowing. Finally, the third grotesque figure, who appears to be standing in the lower left next to the elevated platform on which the others are positioned, gazes toward the hilt of the sword worn by the bowing figure. The third figure is the only one of the grotesques who expresses any sort of emotion. However, this emotion is not easily describable; perhaps it is surprise or amusement. It is possible this character has discovered the truth about the identity of one of the main figures.

The identity of the person bowing and the object of their attention is intriguing. If the viewer accepts the scene at face value, then a masked man in fancy dress is bowing to a masked woman wearing what is essentially an ordinary dress and shawl of the *maja*. This raises the question of why a fashion conscious woman like a *maja*, attending a fancy dress masquerade, would wear something so common. The *sainetes* of the time both document and ridicule the extent to which ladies and *majas* of any economic status, as well as dandies, sought out the new and the elaborate.

If attention is paid to the garments the two central figures wear, one begins to question the identity of these two characters. For even though such events were associated with elaborate garments, those garments were still governed by certain concepts about gender. (For example, a dandy might have a bow on his evening slipper, but the size and style was differentiated from that on a woman's slipper. And shoes with a square heel were not socially equivalent with an evening slipper.) Because the figure is bowing, it is presumed this is a man. The object of his attention is then a woman. However, the garments of the "man" are unusually frilly and embroidered. The pants are wide-legged and stop mid-calf with what appears to be a garter around the right leg. Perhaps this is an attempt to suggest a character from an Italian comedy or the style of another era? The bows on his slippers are unusually large as well and his stockings are embroidered at the ankle like many of those worn by the *majas*. Only one other male figure in the *Caprichos* wears embroidered stockings, the hunchback in p. 14 *Que sacrificio!* (What a sacrifice!), even though his stockings have a more masculine design. The "woman's" shoes also have bows, although hers resemble those on shoes worn by men, such as the dandy in pl 7 *Ni*

asi la distingue (Even thus he cannot make her out). In addition, even though Goya presents the women modestly (excepting the witches), there is usually some indication of cleavage which is absent in this print. The “woman’s” hands are hidden among the folds of her clothing preventing any possible description or classification. The hairstyles for both of the figures are rather ambiguous in the print, unlike in the drawing. Finally, the odd whiteness of the “woman’s” face suggests either another mask or the use of makeup to further disguise the figure.

So the question is have the two main figures adopted the clothing styles much different from their usual custom or have the figures adopted a clothing style in approximation of the opposite gender? The fashion and manners adopted for this function, a masquerade, challenge the concept of elaborate costumes and who wears them. Each viewer will likely discern different aspects within the image making the possible identities open-ended. Appearances are deceptive in the way one can attempt to make judgments from them.

PASSIONS

The Stoics largely argued that emotions and passions (including feelings in general) were states of the rational mind, and likened them to actions or movements, which are to be assessed.¹⁶⁴ The evaluation of emotions and passions was similar to the evaluation of any other action,¹⁶⁵ and to proceed accordingly.

In Chrysippus’ thesis, the “passions are forms of false judgment or false belief.”¹⁶⁶ The emotions, which are a cognitive element, embody ways of interpreting the world.¹⁶⁷ Emotional reasoning, as another form of cognitive elements, beliefs and judgements play essential role in

¹⁶⁴ Cooper, *Reason and Emotion*, 239. The Stoics “held that these psychological phenomenon” (anger, fear, sexual arousal, grief ...) “are not non-rational feelings...but states of our rational minds.”

¹⁶⁵ See Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 60. Graver notes that “if emotions are to be defined as impulses, that is, as one kind of action, then we also bear responsibility for them as we do for any action.” For another aspect of evaluation on a larger scale, Inwood noted that “[t]he Stoics postulate pandemic error when it comes to matters of evaluation: all of the individual s around us, as well as our cultures, laws, and institutions, are wildly misguided in our assessment of what is good and bad.” [Inwood, *Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*, 264]

¹⁶⁶ Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, 327.

¹⁶⁷ Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, 327. The emotions are also violent reactions. (Nussbaum 380)

generation of emotion.¹⁶⁸ Desires, whether they are appetitive or angry or some other, are rational in that through reasoning they move a person to action. As a result, when errors are made, they are errors of reasoning.¹⁶⁹ A view common to Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Stoics and Epicureans: “reason is itself the source of a certain sort of desire, of a certain sort of psychological impulse or movement toward action.”¹⁷⁰ The Stoics, however, go further to state that the “diagnosis of the diseases of passion becomes the basis for a diagnosis of political disorder; and the extirpation of passion is said to promise a new basis for political virtue.”¹⁷¹ This line of thought can help understand the *Caprichos*, which have traditionally been viewed as containing a highly critical attitude of the politics of Goya’s day. These passions are the motivating forces that Goya uses to explore the distortions and disconnect through the judicious use of imagination.

In his *Discourses*, Epictetus wrote “[w]hen...someone assents to something false...know that he did not want to assent to something false. For every soul is deprived of truth against its will...But it seemed to him that what is in fact false was true.”¹⁷² This passage according to Nussbaum, “can explain, Epictetus insists, the most terrible cases of moral error.”¹⁷³ This demonstrates the realm of sense-perception and how the later Stoics viewed human knowledge.

The Stoics were unusually interested in the story of Medea. To summarize the tragedy of Medea, she is motivated by love and through a series of events is then driven by fury. There are many versions of Medea’s story in myth, epic poetry, and plays. Some common points are as follows. She was the daughter of King Aeëtes of Colchis with ties to the sun god Helios, her grandfather, and Circe, her aunt.¹⁷⁴ Medea plays a part in Jason’s quest for the Golden Fleece.

¹⁶⁸ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 37. This concept is also well established in modern philosophy.

¹⁶⁹ Cooper, *Reason and Emotion*, 239-40. Cooper states that according to the Stoics, “appetitive and angry desires, whatever else they involve, involve centrally the rational (reasoned thought that the actions they are moving the agent to do are to be done). These are mistaken, erroneous thoughts, the Stoics hold, but the errors are errors of reasoning, not some other kind of errors.” One analogy given for the errors of reason is that of errors in mathematics, where the error is attributed to a single, limited rational faculty. (<https://www.iep.utm.edu/stoicmind/>)

¹⁷⁰ Cooper, *Reason and Emotion*, 240.

¹⁷¹ Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, 319.

¹⁷² Epictetus, *Disc.*, 1.27.4-5.

¹⁷³ Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, 327.

¹⁷⁴ Costa, *Seneca: Medea*, 7. Medea is also referred to as a “witch-princess.”

In that story, Medea fell in love with Jason and agreed to help him on condition that when he left he would take her with him and marry her. After having been married some time and producing children, Jason abandoned Medea in order to marry the daughter of Creon, King of Corinth. Creon ordered Medea to go into exile. Medea's fury at her treatment by Jason and Creon tripped her over into a murderous frenzy.¹⁷⁵

Medea is a subject in the work of both Epictetus and Seneca. Epictetus wrote of her situation and actions. In Epictetus's argument, Medea was simply following the guidance provided by her culture, saying one "can't expect her not to act badly if the picture of the world is suffused with the cultural values that lead to revenge is the only picture she knows" and that she "must be shown other ways and ...be led to assess all of them critically by reason."¹⁷⁶ Seneca also tells her story in an early play titled *Medea*. C. D. N. Costa, in the introduction to Seneca: *Medea*, noted some of the fundamental changes Seneca made to the play. These include eliminating the "Aegeus scene" and reducing the "Jason/Medea scenes," increasing the role of the nurse, and altering the character of the chorus to be more sympathetic.¹⁷⁷ The result is that Medea becomes the central character. According to Nussbaum, Seneca's play can be used as a case study to analyze Medea. In this process, Nussbaum identifies which passions make false assertions, how passions lead soul out of boundaries (to the irrational), how to use psychology to understand, modify, and correct.¹⁷⁸ One thing that is stressed in the discussion of Medea is the idea of "doubleness" which can be understood as "she is justified: yet she does monstrous things".¹⁷⁹

In the *Caprichos*, prevalent cultural mores cause issues in a similar way to the observations made by Epictetus and Seneca. The idea that one can be forced into false perception and false actions due to the influence of prominent customs in the surrounding society as put forward by Epictetus can be seen in the *Caprichos*, especially in terms of the young

¹⁷⁵ Euripides' version is the most prominent proponent of Medea killing her children and influenced later writers. The myth of Medea continues as she flees from Corinth to Thebes, and then to Athens. In Seneca's version, Medea flies off in her golden chariot.

¹⁷⁶ Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, 327-8. (A brief description of the story of Medea begins on page 446.)

¹⁷⁷ Costa, *Seneca: Medea*, 8.

¹⁷⁸ Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, chapter 12.

¹⁷⁹ Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, 445. Cf. Costa, *Seneca: Medea*, 9.

women and the interactions between the *majas* and *petimetres*. It might even be suggested that Goya views the problems of his Madrid as being the product of the culture.

Although some of the themes in *Medea* are not closely related to the *Caprichos*, there are similarities brought up in the commentary of Epictetus and Seneca. The *Caprichos* show emotions in excess and even violence, but the prints stop short of horrific displays, unlike the later print series, *The Disasters of War*, whose primary focus is such atrocities. The *Caprichos* seems more like snapshots of “passions” and false judgements or assertions. Perhaps this is Goya’s own way of urging viewers to make corrections or avoid the problems (false beliefs) depicted in the *Caprichos*.

On the subject of the passions, there is the question of whether they should be modified or eliminated. Nussbaum argues they should be “extirpated” and looks to Seneca for support.¹⁸⁰ According to Seneca, passions are beliefs but not organic parts of our innate constitution, so they can be extirpated. Seneca proposed that Nature demands removal of passions. In one of his epistles, Seneca wrote: “What is all this? I brought you into the world without longing, without fear, without religious anxiety, without treachery and these other plagues; leave the way you came in.”¹⁸¹ Until such passions or emotions can be removed, it would serve us well to understand Stoic thoughts on emotions. Seneca, in his letters, provides useful commentary on this topic. Overall, Seneca defines emotion as “unjustifiable movements of the mind that are abrupt and agitated.”¹⁸² There are five emotions in particular that Seneca mentions that are relevant to Goya’s *Caprichos*: desire, anger, greed, love, and fear.

With regard to desire, Seneca makes a distinction between natural desire and artificial desire. In *Epistle* 16.9 Seneca wrote that “natural desires are limited; those born of false opinion

¹⁸⁰ See Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, 389. “Passions should not be moderated but extirpated.” Nussbaum quotes Seneca’s *Epistle* 116.1

¹⁸¹ Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, 389. See also Seneca *Ep.* 22.15.

¹⁸² Seneca, *Letters, Ep.* 75.12, 238. In their commentary, Graver and Long note that Seneca combines two standard Stoic definitions of “emotion”: firstly emotion is “a movement of mind contrary to reason” and secondly emotion is “an overly vehement impulse.” (544) Seneca’s definitions are in general clear and concise. See Margaret Graver’s *Stoicism and Emotion*, which present charts and discussion on “genus-emotions” (delight, desire, distress and fear; either present or future as well as good or evil) and “species-emotions” (spite, glee, anger, yearning, envy, shame, and so on). (54-58) See also *Ep.* 118 where Seneca discusses what is considered good versus bad as well as what is true. (473)

have no stopping point, for falsehood is inherently unbounded.”¹⁸³ One example of this thought is in the *Caprichos* is pl. 13 *Estan calientes* (They’re hot) and the commentary for this print which states: “*Tal prisa tienen de engullir que se las tragan hirviendo. Hasta en el uso de los placeresson necesarias la templanza y la moderacion.* (They are in such a hurry to gobble it down [greed, gluttony] that they swallow it boiling hot. Even in pleasure, temperance and moderation are necessary.” Similarly the Stoics mention the fault in such behavior. Arnold, on the topic of eating and greed, cites two lectures from Musonius and Seneca’s *Epistle* 89,22. Whereas Musonius lists the ways in which one may be at fault when eating (preferring the sweet to the wholesome, eating too much or too fast or too hot, interfering with business), Seneca’s criticisms according to Arnold are “aimed not so much against excess in quantity or fastidiousness in quality as against the collection of dainties from all parts of the world.”¹⁸⁴ Seneca also carries his thoughts further regarding what happens when people let their desires have full rein.

“⁵ What enemy has ever treated anyone as roughly as some people’s pleasures treat them? Their desires are uncontrolled—insane—and would be unforgivable, except that the damage is all to themselves. And it’s not without reason that they are tormented with such frenzy. For desires that exceed the bounds of nature cannot but go on to infinity. Our nature has its own limit but empty and perverse desires are inherently unbounded. ...
⁶ ... Rather than enjoying their pleasures, they are slaves to them; worst of all, they even love what is worst in themselves. ... The worst of their condition is when they not only enjoy their shameful behavior but even approve of it. One vice becomes a code of conduct, there ceases to be any possibility of cure.”¹⁸⁵

This passage from *Epistle* 39 related to the second half of the *Caprichos* in general, and specifically to the prints dealing with the subject of witchcraft. The uncontrolled fancies in the prints do show to varying degrees the insanity in the way the different characters revel in their “shameful behavior.” For Goya, the witches and other “monsters” stand for the uncontrolled passions, or desires, as well as false beliefs including superstitions and faulty judgments.

¹⁸³ Seneca, *Letters*, Ep. 16.9, 64.

¹⁸⁴ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 345-346, §381. Arnold also refers to the “lower appetites” (the desires of eating, drinking, and sexual union) and notes that the term “appetites” is equivalent with “impulses.” (314) The concept of “soberness” is associated with “healthy activity of the soul” regarding “eating, drinking and the relations of sex; abstinence is not in itself an end, and if pursued out of season is both folly and a fault.” (317, §348) The last phrase is of particular relevance to the *Caprichos* in that the prints present examples of how appetites pursued out of season lead to folly and madness.

¹⁸⁵ Seneca, *Letters*, Ep. 39.5-6, 120.

On the topic of greed, Seneca remarked: "But even what we do receive from fortune brings satisfaction only when reason mixes it in due proportion. It is reason that makes things valuable to us, even external things: if we are greedy for them, we gain no satisfaction for them."¹⁸⁶ One could add to Seneca's thought that the lack of satisfaction for the object of greed could push the person take further, more drastic actions in order to obtain what they want. Therefore the cycle is repeated and extended. Also, the object of greed is anything that can be deemed desirable or valuable. Again, the fault is an uncontrolled, excessive want.

As previously mentioned, pl. 13 *Estan calientes* (They're hot) can represent the most recognizable form of greed. The counterpart to this print in the second half of the series is pl. 54 *El Vergonzoso* (The Shamefaced one); however, the greed depicted here is not just for food but for sexual appetites as well. Goya presents the excessive nature of both appetites through almost comic means. The main figure in *El Vergonzoso* is off kilter in both physical and emotional ways as depicted: his pants are worn as a shirt (or coat) with his arms through the pant legs as if they were sleeves, the waistband as a head-covering, and he half kneels, half leans against a low surface which keeps him off balance. The exaggerated contortions of the figure on the lower left in his attempt to cater to the central figure add to a sense of urgency and suggest a pitiful co-dependence. The third figure, hovering in the background, seems to be a voyeur, experiencing his pleasures vicariously.

Other aspects of greed are present in the *Caprichos* as well. Some of the excessive lengths people will go to are for political or professional fortune (pl. 56 *Subir y Bajar*, pl. 53 *Que pico de Oro!*), for money (pl. 30 *Porque esconderlos*) and personal security (pl. 2 *El si pronuncian*, pl. 14 *Que sacrificio!*, and pl. 57 *La filiacion*).¹⁸⁷ Desire as a larger group, also encompasses emotions such as a love (specifically erotic love), as well as yearning and longings.¹⁸⁸ With regard to love, Seneca wrote that:

“¹¹ No one doubts that the feelings of lovers bear some resemblance to friendship. One could even say that love is a friendship gone mad. So does anyone fall

¹⁸⁶ Seneca, *Letters*, Ep. 72.7, 224.

¹⁸⁷ Pl. 56 *To rise and to fall*; pl. 53 *What a golden beak!*; pl. 30 *Why hide them?*; pl. 2 *They say yes*; pl. 14 *What a sacrifice!*; pl. 57 *The Filiation*.

¹⁸⁸ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 56-58.

in love in order to make a profit? Or for the sake of ambition, or for glory? Love all by itself, caring nothing for other objectives, inflames the mind with desire for the other's beauty, and hopes the affection will be returned."¹⁸⁹

The somewhat playful and frequently questionable flirtations between the *majas* and the dandies in the *Caprichos* might fit the description of "friendship gone mad." For example, in pl 27 *Quien mas rendido?* (Which of them is the more overcome?), the shared interest is clear but the commentary reveals that the potential relationship is more about business transactions for the *maja* and fraud on the part of the dandy. Goya it would seem is critiquing such behaviors as not being examples of love in a more pure sense, but contaminated with other objectives and self-serving motivations.

In addition to his essay *De Ira* (On Anger), Seneca wrote about anger in his letters. In *Epistle* 18.14-15, the passage that concerns anger is as follows:

"¹⁴ ...I will refer you to Epicurus; payment is to be made by him.
Anger beyond bounds begets insanity.

You cannot but know how true this is, since you have slaves—and enemies. ¹⁵ This emotion flares up against people of every station, as much from love as from hatred, and as much in our business dealings as amid jokes and games. Nor does it matter whether the provocation is great or small: the only thing that makes any difference is the mind that is provoked. It is like fire: what matters is not the size of the flame but what is in its path. Where the material is solid, even the biggest blaze does not ignite it; dry and combustible stuff, though, catches even a spark and makes of it an inferno. That's how it is, dear Lucilius: the outcome of great anger is madness. Hence we should avoid anger, not to keep things in moderation, but to preserve our sanity."¹⁹⁰

The key in this passage is that anger can arise from good and bad experiences that can range from minor to significant. Again when their emotion, like others, is allowed to go unchecked the end result is madness. Whereas the expression of anger is not as prominent in Goya's *Caprichos* as other emotions, there are examples. One literal example is the mother who beats her child over broken pottery in pl 25 *Si quebró el Cantaro* (Yes he broke the pot). Another example is pl. 58 *Tragala perro* (Swallow it dog) where the confrontation between two men takes a violent turn.¹⁹¹ The commentary states: "*El que viva entre los hombres será geringado irremediabilmente; si quiere evitarlo, habrá de irse habitar los montes y quando esté allí*

¹⁸⁹ Seneca, *Letters*, Ep. 9.11, 42.

¹⁹⁰ Seneca, *Letters*, 69.

¹⁹¹ Although Glendinning noted the direct correlation to "Handwritten tenths" (*Décimas*) as well as another found in a song, the relationship is between these other texts and Goya's image, and the text (title). See Glendinning's article, "The Monk and the Soldier in Plate 58 of Goya's *Caprichos*."

conocerá también que esto de vivir solo es una geringa. (He who lives amongst men will be vexed. If he wants to avoid it he will have to go and live in the mountains, but when he is there he will discover that to live alone is vexatious.) The distress and irritability are emphasized in the commentary for this plate.

MORALS

The emphasis on morals, and morality in general, was shared by the Roman Imperial Stoics and in Spain by the *illustrados* and the Church.¹⁹² One view held by the Stoics was that “only the rational can be helped or harmed by knowledge or ignorance and stupidity. Only the rational can be taught.”¹⁹³ This could arguably relate to the possibility that Goya’s work was for the *illustrados*, who in their various efforts at reform, would have appreciated the message.

The “most important feature of passions for Seneca and early Stoics was that they should be ‘rational’ in a broad sense.”¹⁹⁴ Likewise, “any reaction which is irrational is truly irrelevant from a moral point of view, even if such reactions can be made morally relevant by their acceptance.”¹⁹⁵ One aspect, which was noted to be quite important to Seneca, was conscious control.¹⁹⁶ Goya, on the other hand, appears to have focused on the ways which people fail to be rational, emphasizing the irrationality of certain morally accepted actions and behaviors and the lack of conscious control.

In terms of Stoic thought, there are two kinds of mistakes held to be the causes of all false assumptions.¹⁹⁷ These mistakes are the theoretical mistakes caused by ignorance and the practical mistakes caused by an “emotional pull.”¹⁹⁸ These in turn can affect anyone and help

¹⁹² The *illustrados* and the Church had very different reasons for supporting morality among the people and for selecting to promote different moral traits.

¹⁹³ Long, *Problems in Stoicism*, 206.

¹⁹⁴ Inwood, *Passions and Perceptions*, 166. Inwood further clarified the point, stating that “not in sense that they embody/reflect the correct use of reason in guidance of human action and reaction, but in sense that they are products of human reason and subject to control by that reason.”

¹⁹⁵ *Passions & Perception*, Inwood, 167. Inwood also noted that “Seneca’s own criterion” for ‘rationality’ “is much narrower and ...leaves many clearly cognitive and verbally expressive phenomenon on the other side of the line, as irrational or pre-rational.” [Inwood, *Passions & Perception*, 175.]

¹⁹⁶ Inwood, *Passions & Perception*, 175.

¹⁹⁷ Long, *Problems in Stoicism*, 207.

¹⁹⁸ Long, *Problems in Stoicism*, 207.

explain an innate attraction to pleasure, which the Stoics associated with a natural liability to emotional disturbance.¹⁹⁹

In regard to the treatment of women and the subject of marriage, the Stoics held several thoughts. Antipater of Tarsus in his writings gave advice to a man in search of a wife:

“not to look for wealth or good birth or any other vanity, let alone beauty, which always creates a proud and despotic character: he must look into her father’s character and her mother’s; then, if they are good, see if they have brought the girl up to be like themselves or spoiled her through excessive fondness; he should inquire into this in various ways,..., people are all too ready to trust such persons with information they should not have.”²⁰⁰

Musonius advocates studying philosophy for women and rejects sexual double standards as well as limiting the role of sex to procreation, but offspring doesn’t primarily make marriage and very useful view of his attitude towards capabilities of women.²⁰¹ Similarly, Epictetus observed that

“Women forthwith from the age of fourteen are called by the men mistresses (*dominae*). Therefore, since they see that there is nothing else that they can obtain, but only the power of lying with men, they begin to decorate themselves, and to place all their hopes in this. It is worth our while, then, to take care that they may know that they are valued (by men) for nothing else than appearing (being) decent and modest and discrete.”²⁰²

In the situations presented in the *Caprichos*, Goya seems to be in agreement with Musonius even though the prints show the dark reality of his time.

Other topics which the Stoics and Goya address are part of this overall theme of control, the pleasures (or the idea of what is pleasurable) and that which falls into morally accepted limits. For example, Epictetus indicated that “It is a mark of a mean capacity to spend much time on the things which concern the body, such as much exercise, much eating, much drinking, much easing of the body, and much copulation. But these things should be done as subordinate things: and let all your care be directed to the mind.”²⁰³ On the subject of “eating,” the criticisms of Seneca are

¹⁹⁹ Long, *Problems in Stoicism*, 207. This also was the cause of the allure of the *phantasiai*.

²⁰⁰ Sandbach, *The Stoics*, 117. Sandbach describes Antipater of Tarsus as the “first Stoic from whom survive examples of the practical advice that philosophers found it more and more their business to give.” See also Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 347-48. On sexual relations, the Stoics held views which included the following: they were against the pursuit of other men’s wives, they did not feel called upon to condemn (those were matters of indifference); they thought it was contrary to reason for a man’s thoughts to be occupied with matters so low; and if someone does indulge, do it in a way that is conformable to custom, but don’t be disagreeable to those who do indulge.

²⁰¹ See Sellars, *Routledge Handbook*, 24 and Seneca *Ep.* 94.26.

²⁰² Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, XL (40), 37.

²⁰³ Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, XLI (41), 37.

“aimed not so much excess in quantity or fastidiousness in quality, as against the collection of dainties from all parts of the world.”²⁰⁴ Another luxury was eating food extremely hot or cold.²⁰⁵ Goya includes examples of the “hot” food in plate 13, *Estan calientes* (They are hot), but also of other appetites as well. The later Roman Stoics also presented an alternative in the form of soberness, which was inclusive. “Soberness demands healthy activity of the soul in matters such as eating, drinking and the relations of sex; abstinence is not in itself an end, and if pursued out of season is both folly and a fault.”²⁰⁶ This relates to the *Caprichos* in that many of the prints refer to eating, drinking and the relationship between the sexes, either directly or tangentially. The *Caprichos* in such terms are representative of the Spanish society, especially the culture in Madrid. The series also shares criticism of that society and culture with the literature popular during that period.

Although first published in 1637, Pedro Calderon de la Barca’s play *El médico de su honora* is relevant in terms of love and honor. The first act is of particular interest, when the wife contrasts life before and after marriage saying “before I had love, now I have honour”. The message is that “there is no room in marriage for emotion.”²⁰⁷ In a different, but related way, in referring to chastity, Epictetus wrote “do not admire the beauty of your wife, and you will not be angry with the adulterer.”²⁰⁸ Zeno expressly approved of marriage and the members of his school were honorably known by their aversion to adultery.²⁰⁹ But while Seneca shows a similar attitude of mind, “little by little a more severe standard prevailed.”²¹⁰ *Capricho* pl. 2 *El si pronuncian y la mano alargan Al primero que llega* (They say yes and give their hand to the first comer) is an example of how not to approach marriage in the views of the Stoics, but was common in the eighteenth century.

²⁰⁴ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 345-46. See also Seneca, *Ep.* 82.22.

²⁰⁵ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 345-46. See also Seneca, *N.Q.* iv 13,10.

²⁰⁶ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 317. See Seneca *Ep* 8,5, Musonius Rufus, Epictetus *Disc.* lii 22 and 26.

²⁰⁷ Robbins *Challenges of Uncertainty*, 124.

²⁰⁸ Epictetus *Disc.* I8, II.

²⁰⁹ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 276 §306. See also p. 347 §383, on sexual indulgence “in the time of Socrates...even moralists approved of them (courtesans and boy-favorites) as providing a satisfaction to natural desires and indirectly protecting the sanctity of the home.”

²¹⁰ Seneca, *Ep.* 97, 9.

Nicolás Fernández de Moratín's main interest was in poetry, its theory and practice. Nicolás Fernández de Moratín was a literary reformer and was influential in the work of his son, Leandro Fernández de Moratín. One work, *Arte de las putas*, was practically unknown due to its subject matter and the 1777 Edit of the Inquisition, which prohibited its circulation in manuscript form. In *Arte de las putas*, Moratín clearly borrowed his concept of the subject matter from Ovid's poem, *Ars Amatoria*, but not the content. According to Edith Helman, Moratín's *Arte* "provides specific information regarding the harlots of the Madrid of his day, sparing no salacious detail." (Ovid's work is "initiating the unskilled in the ...refined art of making love," whereas Moratín's emphasized the safest and most economical way for a man to satisfy his needs.) According to Moratín, the "harlots"... "free his contemporaries from the absurd and exasperating demands of the '*cortejo*'."²¹¹ In the article, "The Elder Moratín and Goya," Edith Helman demonstrates a connection between Moratín's *Arte* and Goya's *Caprichos*, although there is a more subtle aspect in Goya's prints involving prostitutes. The viewer understands the profession is unacceptable in society; however, there is a sense that Goya represents these with more sensitivity, with a trace of compassion. The *Caprichos* differ from *Arte* in that they are not offering information on where to go or who to see; rather they depict another aspect of life for the prostitutes, specifically the consequences. The *Caprichos* are in fact closer to Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, in that they are commentaries on their societies and on human nature, as seen from constricted points of view.

Some of the behaviors described in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* have some similarity to Goya's *majas* and *petimetres* (dandies).²¹² One passage strikes a chord with *Caprichos* pl. 9, *Tantalo* (Tantalus): "[w]hen she wants, be there, when she's avoiding you, go away; / it's boorish for men of breeding to become bores. / Why should your girlfriend be able to say, "There's no escaping/

²¹¹ Helman, "The Elder Moratín and Goya", 219, 221, 223. Arthur Hamilton describes the *cortejo* as "a suitor for the left-hand favors of the [married] lady: he wanted to be her lover and frequently obtained his desire." [*A Study of Spanish Manners*, 25. See also pages 26-27.] The *cortejo*, depending on his circumstances, would serve as companion, run errands, purchase little luxuries, and pay for entertainments among other duties. In some instances the *cortejo* was tolerated because he relieved the husband from some social duties.

²¹² The edition, *The Offense of Love: Ars Amatoria*, trans. by Julia Dyson Hejduk, was used as a reference here.

this man!"? Common sense isn't always a bad thing."²¹³ Some interpretations of *Tantalus* (pl. 9) suggest that the young woman is dead and the man is lamenting her death. And this may certainly be so. However, the passage in Ovid's work suggests another possibility. The woman did not die a natural "death," instead she was bored to death by the man droning on in the manner of a bore.²¹⁴ This is most likely a critique of the behaviors of the *majas* and *petimetres*. Even Baltasar Gracián, in his *Oráculo Manual*, number 103, more plainly states "Don't be a bore." The *Oráculo* is more general than the *Ars Amatoria*, which is specific (if satirical) on male behaviors in relationships in Books One and Book Two.

Another example in *Ars Amatoria* is from the passage called "Gather Ye Rosebuds While Ye May," specifically lines 73-76: "How quickly—woe is me!—are bodies slackened with wrinkles, / and the color dies that was once on a radiant face, / and those grey hairs you swear you've had since you were a girl/ are suddenly sprinkled all over your whole head!"²¹⁵ This quote is almost a poetic description of pl. 55 *Hasta la muerte* (Until Death), with the old woman primping.²¹⁶ The print also encompasses the sentiment in lines: "[y]et lovers must not discover upon your table exposed/ jars: it's through concealment that art makes beauty" and "[s]uch things will produce beauty, but will be hideous to see; / many things ugly in the doing are charming when done."²¹⁷ The warning by Ovid to not do one's grooming in public, or to "not publish a rough draft," show part of the folly of the old woman as she works in front of her audience.²¹⁸

²¹³ Ovid, *The Offense of Love: Ars Amatoria*, trans. by Julia Dyson Hejduk, 118. Henry T Riley's translation is also of note: "Come when she desires it; when she shall shun you, you'll go away. It is not becoming for men of good breeding to cause weariness of their company. Why should your mistress be able to say of you, "There is no getting rid of this man?" The senses are not on the alert at all hours. [http://www.gutenberg.org/files/47677/47677-h/47677-h.htm] The footnote on the senses in ver. 532 states that "he seems to believe, with Nixon d'Enelos, in the existence of a sixth sense." (note 964)

²¹⁴ The posture of the woman, with her rigid, plank-like pose, does not lend itself to the popular interpretation of the print in my opinion, especially if the "dead" woman is compared to the lover who was killed in the duel in pl.10 *El amour y la muerte*.

²¹⁵ Ovid, *The Offense of Love: Ars Amatoria*, trans. by Julia Dyson Hejduk, 134.

²¹⁶ In terms of primping, Goya, English satirical prints, and Daumier all produced images of ugly old women preening before mirrors. "It took the rise of the Dandy and the genius of Daumier to recover the much-neglected theme of the fool in the looking glass as an emblem of silly make pride, rather than the usual one of female vanity." [Holander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 411] Although this does not take into account several of the *Caprichos*.

²¹⁷ Ovid, *The Offense of Love: Ars Amatoria*, trans. by Julia Dyson Hejduk, 142 lines 209-10 and 217-18.

²¹⁸ Ovid, *The Offense of Love: Ars Amatoria*, trans. by Julia Dyson Hejduk, 143 lines 227-34. "How come I know where your face picked up that radiant glow?/ Keep your door shut! Why publish a rough draft? /

Leandro Fernández de Moratín was the son of Nicolás Fernández de Moratín's and a well-known author of the period in his own right. His work, specifically the *Auto de fe* with commentary, was particularly influential in Goya's work.²¹⁹ One problem regarding the witch series and the Prado commentary is that one has to look at the preparatory drawings for witches and Album B because the captions on the drawings frequently were in line (sometimes verbatim) with the commentaries. If the drawing captions correlate with commentaries and Moratín's notes, then the timing of when the *Caprichos* witches were drawn is thrown into question.²²⁰ Most of the plates featuring witches in the *Caprichos* are signed and were part of the *Sueños* series.²²¹ Moratín was purportedly working on, or beginning to work on, the *Auto de Fe* with commentary when he met Goya in 1797.²²² If the majority of prints were already done, then the question of how influential was Moratín's work on witchcraft was for Goya is raised.²²³ For example pl. 12 *A caza de dientes* (Out hunting for teeth), closely resembles a scene in Act III of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Meliba*, as well as a scene cited with commentary by Moratín in his annotation of the *Auto de fe de Logroño*.

It has been suggested in the article "Goya's *Caprichos*: a Sampling of Witches" by Eleanor Sayre, that the contemporary manuscript explanations were far more acute in their perceptions of what Goya censured than ours today.²²⁴ Some of the items that were identified with witchcraft included seemingly normal items. The crutch and cane, a signifier of lameness,

There's lots it's better for men not to know; most things would be/ disgusting if you didn't hide their insides./ Those golden statues that glitter in the lavish theater?/ Look hard and you'll scorn them: gold foil over wood!/ But the people aren't allowed to come close to them till they're done;/ nor should beauty be prepped unless men are cleared out."

²¹⁹ His commentary was based on the *Auto de fe de Logroño*. See Edith Helman's article "The Younger Moratín and Goya."

²²⁰ The issue of dating the Albums, specifically new dating for Albums A and B (Sanlúcar and Madrid), will be discussed in the chapter three. See also, Wilson-Barrow (*Goya in the Norton Simon Museum*), Mena and Sayre. Also there were other accounts of different inquisitions that may have been known to Goya. For example, one place subject to an inquisition that took place in 1527 was Barahona (Baraona) and the city and witchcraft activities are referenced in the commentary of pl. 46 *Correccion* (Correction).

²²¹ Although in some of these plates the signature is faint or even obliterated by the layer(s) of aquatint.

²²² Helman suggests that Goya and Moritán the Younger were getting acquainted between 1797 and 1799.

²²³ It may be that Fra Feijoo the source of information for Goya instead. Helman notes Feijoo's influence over writers in the second half of the 18th century.

²²⁴ One example is the Stirling Maxwell manuscript. Cf. Gregorio González Azaola "*Satiras de Goya*" *Semanario patriótico* no. 11, 27 March 1811, p. 24. [Sayre, "Goya's *Caprichos*: a Sampling of Witches," 70]

are symbols of being artful or deceiving and associated with lame devils (*diablo cojuelos*) and procuresses (*alcahuetas*).²²⁵ Falcons (*halcón*) were frequently “trained to bring down other birds and in plates *Caprichos* 19 and 20, the bird-men victims of the prostitutes through the use of the she-bird decoy.”²²⁶ Also the tables turn and the she-bird is in the clutches of the cat-like magistrates. In pl. 67 *Aguarda que te unten* (Wait till you’ve been anointed), the central figure is a he-goat (*cabrón*), “a metaphorical term for men who are aware of, and consent to, the adultery of their wives.” Sayre also notes that “since this print falls between two satires on the prostitution of women, one should not be surprised to find that some manuscripts perceived a relationship between the three.”²²⁷ According to Sayre, witchcraft was used as a metaphor or symbol for prostitution, or extreme cases/examples of such behavior, or instances carrying the most risk (such as judicial punishment or the risk to one’s health or well-being).²²⁸

Furthermore, regarding the bird-women, one aspect of their character that has not been fully explored is the association of the figure with the concept of sirens. It is of note that in ancient representations sirens were sometimes presented as bird-women. There are passages in three letters by Seneca that refer to sirens and their corruptive influences. The first passage is in *Epistle* 31.2-3:

“₂In a word, you will be wise to close your ears. But wax will not be enough to stop them up; you need some tighter seal than what Ulysses is said to have used on his crew. That voice they feared was alluring, but it was not the voice of the public. This voice that you should fear does not sound from a single crag; it echoes around you from every direction and from every land. Sail on, then, not past a single spot where treacherous pleasures threaten, but past all the cities of the world. Turn a deaf ear to those who love you most: their intentions are good, but the things they are wishing for you are bad. If you want to be truly prosperous, entreat the gods that none of the things they want for you may happen. ₃Those are not goods that they wish to see heaped upon

²²⁵ Sayre, “Goya’s *Caprichos*: a Sampling of Witches,” 74.

²²⁶ “The variety of prey Goya perhaps had in mind were the bird-men victims... for the verb, *halconear*, from the noun, was applied to women of the town who hunted men with piercing, provocative glances.” [Sayre, “Goya’s *Caprichos*: a Sampling of Witches, 74]. One important element in Sayre’s article is the point that “it is because the witches of the *Caprichos* do not belong to the world of traditional witchcraft that they are so disquieting.” The article outlines examples of how Goya’s “witches” differ from “traditionally” accepted definitions of witches. [Sayre, “Goya’s *Caprichos*: a Sampling of Witches,” 83 and 81.]

²²⁷ Sayre, “Goya’s *Caprichos*: a Sampling of Witches, 81. Also, Sayre refers to the verb *untar* in which the “metaphorical meaning was to suborn with gifts or money” as well as the understanding the admonishment to the cuckold in the print.

²²⁸ Sayre, “Goya’s *Caprichos*: a Sampling of Witches,” 81.

you. There is but one good, and that is both the cause and the mainstay of happiness: trust in oneself. ...²²⁹

In the commentary for Seneca's letters, Graver and Long clarify the point of corruption, stating "in Stoic thought, the human being is designed by nature for development toward the human good, which is perfected reason. In nearly all cases, however, we are corrupted, sometimes by the intrinsic plausibility of certain kinds of error..., but most often by the influence of other people."²³⁰

The principle corruptive element here is the people as a whole who surround the individual.

In the next passage from *Epistle* 88.7, the sentiments from the first example are listed in more specific details.

"⁷ Do you seek to know the whereabouts of Ulysses' wanderings rather than how to rescue us from our own perpetual wandering? We haven't time to hear whether he was beset by a storm between Italy and Sicily or outside the bounds of the known world (since he couldn't have traveled so long in such a narrow straight). No, we ourselves are beset by storms of the mind every day of our lives, and our vices bring us all the troubles that Ulysses faced. They are all here: beauty that beguiles the eye, enemies, savage monsters that delight in human gore, on one side the Siren's song, on the other shipwrecks and perils of every kind.* Teach me this: how to love my country, my wife, my father; teach me to reach that honorable destination, though I be shipwrecked along the way. ..."²³¹

Graver and Long clarify the "Sirens' song" here, suggesting it is the "corrupting influences from the culture."²³² And finally, in the third example in *Epistle* 123.12, Seneca suggests a remedy:

"¹² Voices like these are as much to be shunned as those that Ulysses refused to pass until he was tied to the mast.* They have the same power: they alienate you from your country, your parents, your friends, and your virtues, and lure you into a life of shame with promises that make you unhappy, even if they were not shameful.* How much better it is to follow a straight path and let it finally guide you to the point where only what is honorable gives you pleasure. ..."²³³

In short, the siren's song incorporates not only cultural influences, but the impact of people closer to one who would otherwise be expected to be good. The remedy is presented as "trust in oneself" to "follow a straight path," or to cultivate reason.

²²⁹ Seneca, *Letters* 31.2, 106.

²³⁰ Seneca, *Letters*, 521.

²³¹ Seneca, *Letters* 88.7, 310.

²³² Seneca, *Letters*, 553. Compare to letters 31.2, 123.12.

²³³ Seneca, *Letter* 123.12, 496. Note: Preceding this passage is a quotation of the speech of a "crass hedonist" who references Epicurean claims (p. 578).

Goya echoes the sentiment of Seneca's letters in two ways through two different groups of characters. In the first group are pl. 19 *Todos Caerán* (All will fall), pl. 20 *Ya van desplumados* (There they go plucked), and to a different degree pl. 21 *¡Qual la descanonan!* (How they pluck her!). The siren is a bird-woman who is the tool of her morally corrupt companions, the Celestina and her prostitutes in plates 19 and 20. Although in pl. 20, it is not just through her appearance or voice that the siren attracts the customers, or victims if you will, but through active participation. The third plate in this group is different in that the siren (bird-woman) has fallen prey to another equally corrupt party. It could be argued that the feline-men are more corrupt because they are probably abusing their office in addition to acting immorally.

The second group is what may be termed the predecessors to the set mentioned above. These prints show the influence of people close to the individual. For example, in pl. *Bellos consejos* (Pretty teachings) an older woman gives advice to the young *maja*. The setting is ambiguous, but the empty chairs suggest that perhaps the women will soon have company. At this point the scene appears innocuous, but the posture and mannerisms suggest the young *maja* is being influenced, even groomed by the old woman.²³⁴ In pl. 17 *Bien tirade está* (It is nicely stretched), the young woman is further into her indoctrination and no longer the naïve, if not innocent, girl in pl. 15. By pl. 31 *Ruega por ella* (She prays for her), the indoctrination is complete and the young woman is a functioning part of the corrupt society.

The plays and *sainetes* of Ramon de la Cruz were very popular.²³⁵ *El Sarao* (The Party) and *El Reverso del Sarao* (The Other Side of the Party) are two of Cruz's most famous plays whose subjects are evening parties, specifically "both parties were in honor of the marriage of an old man to a young *petimetra*."²³⁶ "The *petimetre's* day..." is an almost exact description of

²³⁴ According to Sayre, the rosary held by the old woman may also identify her as a Celestina, a procuress.

²³⁵ See Arthur Hamilton's *A Study of Spanish Manners 1750-1800*, which uses the work of de la Cruz as the basis for his study of manners. (note: a *sainetes* is a kind of sketch, usually one act, lasting rarely more than 25 minutes; *sainetes* were among the most vivid expressions of popular culture; Cruz wrote 400-450 *sainetes* but not all survived). It is also important to note that the Osunas were friends with Ramón de la Cruz, as well as with L. F. Moratín. [Hughes, *Goya*, 117] The Osunas were their patrons and invited them to the *tertulias* the Osunas hosted. Goya also frequented these *tertulias*. It should also be noted that there was a feud between Leandro Fernández de Moratín and Ramón de la Cruz. [Hughes, *Goya*, 76-77]

²³⁶ Hamilton, *A Study of Spanish Manners*, 22. *A Arnesto* (1786), a satire attributed to Jovellanos, is also critical of women who married only to escape their parent's houses. [Tomlinson, *Goya*, 123]

Goya's pl. 29 *Esto si que es leer* (That certainly is being how to read).²³⁷ The Doctor (and diseases) was "a favorite object of ridicule" with the ridicule centered on the distrust of the medical profession.²³⁸ The dance hall at *Los Caños del Peral* was the site of one of the most popular forms of evening entertainment, the masked balls.²³⁹ This setting, the masked ball, is basis for a couple of Goya's prints. There appears to be quite a lot of similarities between the plays of Cruz and the *Caprichos* that warrant a closer look. Robert Hughes noted that "the closest literary and dramatic parallel to the Cartoons Goya made...was the work of ...Ramón de la Cruz..."²⁴⁰ Hughes also noted that the *illustrados* were very much against the *saintes* because they lack refinement and were corrupting even "the highest levels of society"...Cruz responded that "he was not a degenerate but a realist...his plays were not invitations to vice but social documents."²⁴¹ Cruz, with less than a half hour per show, "deployed a veritable army of 'types'" much the same way Goya used types in the *Caprichos*.

Fashion and *majismo* are also central to the topic of manners and morality. Majismo is both limited to certain styles of fashion but also allows for variety in fabrics, lace, and other embellishments as well as innovations such as *La Caramba's* bow. The fashions, or styles, adapted by any particular group such as *maja* or *petimetre* depend on that style-image, specifically the mind-picture (phantasia), to encapsulate many concepts including acceptable behaviors with that particular style. One way to consider these aspects is in the theory of *The Fashion System* by Roland Barthes. With the use of semiology and sociology, the description of fashion garments becomes a social fact, an element of mass culture, even if they are imaginary garments.²⁴² Two structures, the iconic (the image or idea of the garment) and verbal (the description of the garment), are also considered to be languages.²⁴³ "Speech" corresponds to

²³⁷ Hamilton, *A Study of Spanish Manners*, 28-29.

²³⁸ Hamilton, *A Study of Spanish Manners*, 33.

²³⁹ Hamilton, *A Study of Spanish Manners*, 37. Hamilton noted that "these masked balls lasted from Christmas to Lent" and were "instituted in 1767 by the Conde de Aranda."

²⁴⁰ Hughes, *Goya*, 75. Hughes, however, does not note the correlation between the *sainetes* and the *Caprichos*.

²⁴¹ Hughes, *Goya*, 76.

²⁴² Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 9.

²⁴³ Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 5.

the real garment.²⁴⁴ Clothing can be viewed as a stand-in, as a sign or signifier, for a larger concept or movement. *Petimetres*, or *afrancesados*, were known for adopting en masse all things French and identified by style of clothing.²⁴⁵ *Majas* were reactionary in that they were reacting against French and other foreign nationals, embracing “nationalist” aspects and agendas. Fashion was not just statements about personal proclivities but a public statement of aligning with certain socio-political elements (even economic). In terms of semiology, Barthes “describes a garment which from beginning to end remains imaginary, or if one prefers, purely intellectual...”²⁴⁶ Utterance (re explicit signifieds) is composed of: a signifier (the garment), a signified (the “world” [of fashion]), and a sign (the union of the two).²⁴⁷ This is very close to the Stoic sign theory.

Fashion, as an entity that is all about the visual, reinforces the prominence of the sense of sight, which “was considered the most important in the 18th century.”²⁴⁸ The image of a *maja* confusing a *petimetre* (or a *currutaco*, a combination of traits of a dandy and a *majo*) plays on the *maja*’s reputation.²⁴⁹ In the instance of pl. 7, *Ni así la distingue* (Even thus he cannot make her out) Goya’s image “invokes apprehensions about expansions of women’s presence in society.”²⁵⁰ Goya mocks men’s disorientation. Andrew Schulz examines “the sensory confusion of many of the characters in Goya’s series, including the *currutaco*, who lacks the mental acuity to identify the *maja* as a prostitute, despite his use of a quizzing glass.”²⁵¹ The male fails to use reason to analyze the women, or the situation, and as a result has a false concept (if he even has any). If he does make an assent about the identification of the woman, it would be false because of the earlier failure. The woman presents faulty reasoning in behavior but at the same time, if she is just playing a game of flirtation, then there is no reason for her not to join because of the equality

²⁴⁴ Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 6.

²⁴⁵ Zanardi, *Framing Majismo*, 68-9. The Spanish term, *petimetre*, was also considered to “embody foreignness, above all in the aristocracy,” and to be “an effeminate man.”

²⁴⁶ Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 9.

²⁴⁷ Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 225.

²⁴⁸ Zanardi, *Framing Majismo*, 73 and 213 n. 119. See Schulz, *Goya*, 131 re senses.

²⁴⁹ Zanardi, *Framing Majismo*, 132. “Because *majas* often worked as street vendors and thus had freer social interactions, they were sometimes suspected of deceitful conduct and equated with prostitutes.”

²⁵⁰ Zanardi, *Framing Majismo*, 136-137.

²⁵¹ Zanardi, *Framing Majismo*, 136-137.

of the genders; however she is still making poor judgements. Other texts regarding *currutacos* echo this anxiety about false appearances illustrating the problem caused by self-fashioning and disguise resulting in a “peering figure cannot distinguish the reality in front of him.”²⁵² Likewise, *Capricho* pl. 7 *Ni así la distingue* (Even thus he cannot make her out) is a “a scene of non-recognition.”

The Enlightenment critique of *majismo* was derived from anxiety about decadence of nobility.²⁵³ *Ilustrado* opposition to *majo* fashion was based on what they viewed as the dangerous erosion of social distinctions, both abdication and usurpation.²⁵⁴ It was most probable that upper-class *majos* were in fact perfectly distinguishable from the real thing and the elaborated versions of costume functioned as an act of defiance. This form *majismo* was not from lack of education but a conscious choice among the practitioners.²⁵⁵ *Majismo* was primarily about public conduct.²⁵⁶ The aim of the so called *ilustrado* project was to recover a one-to-one correspondence between custom and social position so that people looked like who they were.²⁵⁷

The *petimetre* was a foreign import and the *majo* was working class, though both were dandies.²⁵⁸ *Majas* can be understood as synecdoches for the nation and embodiments of *vox populi*.²⁵⁹ Cloak and mantilla allowed the wearer to go unrecognized and was “an emblem and an instrument of their autonomy.”²⁶⁰ The mantilla was useful in concealing the face and displaying

²⁵² Amaun, *Dandyism*, 155-156.

²⁵³ Noyes, “*La Maja Vestida*,” 208.

²⁵⁴ Noyes, “*La Maja Vestida*,” 208.

²⁵⁵ Noyes, “*La Maja Vestida*,” 210.

²⁵⁶ Noyes, “*La Maja Vestida*,” 211.

²⁵⁷ Noyes, “*La Maja Vestida*,” 213.

²⁵⁸ Noyes, “*La Maja Vestida*,” 199. In the book, *Dandyism*, Amaun describes as *petimetría* (being a *petimetre*) “his essence: he does not don his clothes so much as he is his clothes.” [p. 141] Whereas *currutaquería* “becomes in this literature a desirable goal, an ideal to which one might aspire.” [p. 141] An anonymous article, “El mundo al réves, ó Contra-verdades dedicadas a los hombres,” published in 1796 contrasts “old-style petimetres” with the newer species of *currutacos*, who are more sober in dress, speech, and morals. [p.141] In *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, Klingender refers to *majismo* in 18th Century, especially in Madrid, where the *majo* was considered “a picturesque fellow”, well-dressed and colorful, someone who “considered themselves as representing the pure Castilian spirit...” [Klingender, *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, 15-16] “Thus *majaism*, the symbol of the national awakening of Spain, became the poison of its ruling class, who in a former age had degraded the virile democracy of feudal Spain to the level of the *picaro*.” [Klingender, *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, 44-45.]

²⁵⁹ Noyes, “*La Maja Vestida*,” 201.

²⁶⁰ Noyes, “*La Maja Vestida*,” 202 and 208.

the figure, both motives for seduction.²⁶¹ *La Caramba*, the actress María Antonia Fernández, popularized the enormous ribbon topknot as an addition to *maja* costume.²⁶² *La Caramba* also declared herself a “*peti-maja*,” a synthesis of the *petimetra* and *maja*.²⁶³

In the *Caprichos*, Goya refers to a wide range of vices, both minor and major; as well as themes of insanity. The first half encompasses more minor passions (hunger, lust, greed, etc.), which are more visible, or external. The second part, after the *Sleep of Reason*, exhibits a higher degree of passions. These focus especially passions taken to excess or extreme and therefore to madness. The role of superstition in society, though addressed from different points of view, is a subject mentioned by Seneca, Augustine, and Goya. The aspects of passion, control, a lack of education, and irrationality are also part of the characteristic of superstition. The superstition would seem to thrive on emotion with regard to how people respond to things that happen to them and around them.²⁶⁴

An article by Gregorio González Azaola, “*Sátiras de Goya*,” which was published in *Semanario patriótico* n. 51 on 27 March 1811 in Cadiz, described the *Caprichos* as “a didactic work of 80 engraved moral poems, or a satirical treatise on 80 of the prejudices and vices that most afflict society.”

Although there is not much extant in Stoic texts regarding prostitution, some texts do survive about social and sexual interaction. These, in part, draw parallels to eros and pathos, and present desire as a type of hunger. The other aspects of prostitution which feature in the

²⁶¹ Noyes, “*La Maja Vestida*,” 208. This in a way relates to the concept Hollander presented: “In clothing, then, visual need may indeed be stronger than practical need; but the visual elements in a style of dress, like those in an artistic school, naturally have iconographic or symbolic meanings as well as formal properties. The symbolic aspect of dress is what sociological writing about clothing has usually dwelt on, and usually as if the formal aspects were arbitrary and the symbolic ones externally determined.” [Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 312]

²⁶² Noyes, “*La Maja Vestida*,” 204. A quote from a part played by *La Caramba* “the hairnet differentiated the your-ladyship and *petimetra* from the “super *maja*”. *La Caramba* claimed she was a reformer because she has made a compound of the two (because of the bow). The work of Hollander is relevant in this line of thought. She wrote that “[e]xpressing female social and sexual freedom in dress, for example, is possible in a number of ways, and it has been accomplished a number of times. The way it is done depends wholly on how the look of the new clothing differs from the way clothing had been looking before.” [Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 312.]

²⁶³ Noyes, “*La Maja Vestida*,” 208.

²⁶⁴ Emotions are how things happen to us and around us affect us. Emotions are also cognitive elements that embodies ways of interpreting the world (Nussbaum, *Therapy*, 369)

Caprichos are those of passion, lust, (excessive) desire, and deception. In addition, the *Caprichos* reflect the Stoic belief that there are various degrees to which emotions can get out of control, and subsequently impact behaviors, both physically and mentally.

Goya seems to be using the *Caprichos* as a critique along the lines of Stoicism and in conjunction with contemporary examples, including literature. He seems to distrust certain kinds of passion.

MADNESS

The Stoics were well known for the paradox “all fools are mad.”²⁶⁵ The Stoics considered only the sage to be sane. Everyone else, to varying degrees, is insane. There is also variety in madness with some states being either temporary or permanent.²⁶⁶ The example of being excessively drunk was used to illustrate a temporary madness and was given the nickname “a little insanity.”²⁶⁷ In a passage on renouncing drunkenness, Seneca wrote “say that drunkenness is nothing but voluntary insanity. Imagine the drunken state continuing for several days; would you hesitate to call that madness? So even as it is, it is not a lesser form of insanity but only a shorter one.”²⁶⁸ In the *Caprichos* three plates (18, 49, and 79) refer to drinking, but one plate in particular depicts the insanity of drunkenness: pl. 18 *Ysele quema la Casa* (And his house is on fire). The man is so drunk he is incapable of a single task (getting undressed). His conversation with the candle, indicated in the commentary, takes so much of his concentration and awareness

²⁶⁵ This paradox is frequently cited. See Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 116-120. “ ‘All fools are mad’ is a paradox...it runs contrary to popular opinion (*para doxam*) but becomes plausible when restated in other terms.” Cicero, *Paradoxes of the Stoics*, pref. 4. See Seneca *Ep.* 87.1 [Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 117] Stoic saying “all fools are mad” or “that the non-wise condition is itself a sort of insanity.” [Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 116] “We can glean a fair idea of the kind of exposition Stoic teachers would have supplied from the brief explanation in Diogenes Laertius: All the senseless are mad, for they do not have sense but to do everything in accordance with madness, madness being equivalent to senselessness. (D.L. 7.124)” Also, “ ‘Sense’ is *phronēsis*, the conventional opposite to *mania* for Greek speakers.” [Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 117]

²⁶⁶ Graver notes that Stoic thought “provides two different ways of being insane, one deranged or hallucinatory [the medicalized], and the other relatively ordinary [the moral and epistemological], though not without significance. A distinction of this kind does not appear to be made elsewhere in Greek thought.” (Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 111-12.)

²⁶⁷ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 144. Graver notes how the Stoics compared insanity to the effects of alcohol on perception, thought and speech.

²⁶⁸ Seneca, *Letters*, 281.

that he is oblivious to the danger of starting a fire. The man sloshing about in his temporary insanity may be sobered by being doused with water if he lives to see the firemen according to the commentary.

Other examples of instances when reason, or rationality, can be lost include melancholy, symptoms of diseases, lethargy and certain substances.²⁶⁹ Seneca expounds on a lengthy question by Aristo the Stoic on the kinds of insanity in *Epistle* 94:

“¹⁷ The only difference between the madness of people in general and the madness treated by doctors is that while the latter is an ailment due to disease, the former is due to false opinions. One type is caused by illness; the other is the mind’s poor health. Anyone who gives precepts to a madman about how he ought to speak or walk or behave in public and in private would be crazier than the person he is advising. The person’s atrabilious condition needs to be treated and the actual cause of his madness removed. Likewise in the other case, the insanity has to be dispelled; otherwise your words of advice will vanish into thin air.”²⁷⁰

In analyzing Aristo’s argument, Seneca presents examples and a few counter-arguments. On insanity and precepts, Seneca’s point of view is the following:

“³⁶ ‘Madness is not cured by precepts, and so vice is not cured by them either.’ The two cases are different. Once madness is removed, sanity is restored; but the elimination of false opinions is not immediately followed by a clear understanding of proper conduct—or if it is, admonition will still strengthen the correct opinion concerning good and bad. It is also incorrect to say that precepts are of no avail in the case of the insane. While they are of no help on their own, they do assist the cure. Criticism and rebuke can restrain the insane. (In speaking of the insane here, I mean those whose minds are disturbed but not totally lost.)”²⁷¹

The *Caprichos* in general, appear to further Seneca’s thoughts on false opinions and lack of self-control. In the first half, Goya seems to show the moment at which the principal figures can make a judgment to either continue in destructive behavior or to choose more rational (sane) behavior. In the second half, the behaviors of some of the central figures in the prints have continued to such a degree that they have altered their appearances. In a way, their psychological state is visible in their outward looks and actions. In other cases, as stated above, extremes in emotions

²⁶⁹ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 44-5. “The loss of rationality can come about without the agent’s consent.” Graver also highlights a point that a “medicalized notion of insanity applicable to only a small number of people.” I believe he is referring to a more specific type of mental illness, rather than what is found in other situation, such as dementia (including vascular dementia and Alzheimer’s).

²⁷⁰ Seneca, *Letters*, 355. Graver and Long explain that the Stoics held that “all nonwise are insane, on the grounds that they lack the virtue of self-control and are thus subject to instability of impulse.” (560).

²⁷¹ Seneca, *Letters*, 359.

could induce madness.²⁷² For example, unchecked anger can become mania or a frenzied mind. And in this state, perceptions are false even though they seem very real.

Another conceptualization of madness is that it is ignorance “in a certain rational state.”²⁷³ As Chrysippus noted, all persons susceptible to emotions are insane. During an emotional movement, one is for a time “beside oneself” (*exestēkōs*) or “in an altered state” (*parēllachōs*) or “not oneself” (*ou par’ heautōi*).²⁷⁴ Another way of expressing this concept can be found in Seneca’s writing. In his essay, *Natural Questions*, after referring to various celestial events, Seneca wrote that “we never marvel at these things without fear. Since the cause of fear is ignorance, is it not worth acquiring knowledge in order to remove your fear?”²⁷⁵ In *Epistle* 14.3, Seneca identified objects of fear, writing:

“³ Even so, let us avoid not only danger but also discomfort, as much as we can, and retreat into safety, constantly devising ways to keep away the objects of fear. If I am not mistaken, those objects are of three kinds. We fear poverty; we fear disease; and we fear the violent deeds of those more powerful than ourselves. ...”²⁷⁶

So ignorance in any form leads to fear, which left unchecked drives the mind to madness.

Ignorance, or “fluttery ignorance,” is also described as a “sense in which anyone who has a moral failing can be called insane.”²⁷⁷ This way of associating madness and ignorance is closely mirrored in the *Caprichos*. The themes of education, especially in terms of the lack thereof and the quality of what did exist in Goya’s time, have been addressed in relation to the *Caprichos*. Plate 25 *Si quebró el Cantaro* (*Yes he broke the pot*), the Ass series (plates 37 through 42), and plate 3 *Que viene el Coco* (*Here comes the bogey-man*) are examples of the various manifestations of ignorance. Although this last example also correlates with the theme of

²⁷² See Cicero, *Tusculan Disputation* 3.8. “a susceptibility to grief, fear, desire or anger” is hardly different from insanity.” (Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 48.) To posit the relation of emotions to rationality or irrationality in a slightly different way, Graver states in a quotation that “to lack rationality is to lack the capacity for assent, and without assent, there is no emotion.” (Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 50.) Insanity...in general terms...a matter of misplaced values only. (Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 50.)

²⁷³ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 47. Madness is also said to be same thing as ignorance or senselessness. (Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 118.)

²⁷⁴ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 51. Chrysippus also remarked that “[p]eople who want to do ‘whatever occurs to them’ and want to do it ‘no matter what’, even if it is not to their advantage, are not behaving rationally even by the most basic standards of what it is to act upon reasons or to be responsive to reasoned considerations.” (Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 119.)

²⁷⁵ Seneca, *NQ*, 91.

²⁷⁶ Seneca, *Letters*, 56.

²⁷⁷ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 116.

superstition, one may argue that superstition is related to ignorance. With *Si quebró el Cantaro* (Yes he broke the pot), the child is subjected to corporal punishment for behavior resulting in damaged pottery. The way the mother punishes the boy does not yield the effect desired because the boy is not taught proper behavior or action. The Ass series mocks the pretensions to grandeur of pedigree and social refinements. The dilettante is ridiculed. And in *Que viene el Coco* (Here comes the bogey-man) the ignorance of the children is taken advantage of by their mother.

Another type of insanity is furor (in the Latin sense) which requires custodial care.²⁷⁸ Cicero designated four stages (or types) of this kind of insanity. The first was “mania,” which he described as a madness in the form of susceptibility to emotion. The second was “*insania*” that was associated with a wide application, ranging from folly to furor, or “frenzy.” The third type was “frenzy” in the Latin meaning which was equated with the Greek concept of “melancholia.” Lastly, was the “frenzy” that was understood as a complete darkening of the mind.²⁷⁹ The concept of flawed rationality was also associated with mania, especially when considered as having an essential similarity to “mania in its fuller, “melancholic” sense.²⁸⁰ The tragedy of Medea is one example. Another example is possible with the consideration of *Capricho* pl. 25 *Si quebró el Cantaro* (Yes he broke the pot), specifically regarding the word “si” and its English translation. Some scholars such as Hofer, Wilson-Bareau, and Harris translate the term as “yes.” Other scholars, including Lopez-Rey, Tomlinson, and Sayre translate it as “if.” (Pierre Gassier provides another alternative, translating the word as “but.”) The significance of “si” is important to the meaning of the print and the extent of the anger or insanity. To say that “ ‘yes’ he broke the pottery” carries a very different connotation than “ ‘if’ he broke the pottery.” The mother’s anger is understandable even if her actions of beating the boy with her slipper are too severe, when the title is affirmative (“yes”). The mother’s rage goes beyond acceptable terms of severity and

²⁷⁸ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 48. This is also related to Seneca’s work *De Ira* (On Anger).

²⁷⁹ Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, 3.11 [Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 48-9]

²⁸⁰ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 50. Cicero’s *Third Tusculan Disputation* describes a susceptibility to grief and other emotions as “hardly different from insanity.” Latin word *in-san-ia* or “non-health” is an appropriate term for any mental condition which falls short of the ideal; broadly applicable notion. *Insania* then is appropriate for any mental condition which falls short of the ideal tranquility. [Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 120 and 48.]

appropriateness if the text is conditional (“if”) and could then be classified as being frenzied. The commentary suggests the boy’s nature and behavior are responsible for his part in the breaking the pot, but that the mother is perhaps equally at fault for flying into a rage too easily.²⁸¹ The commentary poses an interesting question of which is worse.

In regard to melancholic insanity, Chrysippus is associated with a “neat distinction among four related Greek words”: *phantasia* (appearance or impression), *phantaston* (the object of impression), *phantastikon* (hallucination), and *phantasma* (phantasm; the object of *phantastikon*).²⁸² The *phantastikon* is also described as a mental experience similar to an impression but is an empty kind of seeming which is both true and false.²⁸³ Melancholia is may also be caused by episodes of strong emotion, “as if the mind were stirred up,” in a frenzy.²⁸⁴

The relation of the previously mentioned examples of the ways insanity may manifest to the *Caprichos* is primarily through dreams and morality. Diogenes Laertius wrote that “the causation of insanity may then be comparable to that of dreams, which come about non-mysteriously, through the relaxing of pneumatic tension in sleep.”²⁸⁵ With regard to dreams, the appearance of something may not coincide with reality yet still evoke a strong emotion. The loss of control of the emotion, either when awake or asleep, is a form of insanity.²⁸⁶ Dreams can also be associated with hallucinations, since they also skew an impression that arises from something that does exist.²⁸⁷ This relates to the majority of the second part of the *Caprichos*, as well as a number of plates from the first part, such as pl.18 *Ysele quema la Casa* (And his house is on fire).

²⁸¹ In the 1791 *diccionario* the root of the term can be traced to the Latin term *ira*, which brings us back to Seneca’s thoughts on anger in his letters and essay. *Diccionario*, 764.

²⁸² There is some disagreement in how to adequately translate “*phantasia*” into English, since there is no direct equivalent. A.A. Long noted that “there is not agreed translation of *phantasia*, and no single modern word is entirely apt. ‘Appearance’, ‘impression’, ‘presentation’ and ‘representation’ are the English renderings most commonly adopted according to Long and Sedley (1987); “impression is consistently used, but the Humean connotations of this term may be misleading. Long instead finds the term “representation” the most effective word. [Long, *Stoic Studies*, 268 n.10]

²⁸³ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 112.

²⁸⁴ Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 121.

²⁸⁵ Diogenes, *Lives of the Philosophers*, book 7, 158. See also Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 114.

²⁸⁶ In relation to the disconnect between appearance and reality, see the example of the stick in water example in *Stoic Studies* by Long. [Long, *Stoic Studies*, 272] Graver also provides a convincing argument on the loss of control and its effect on emotions in *Stoicism and Emotion* (111).

²⁸⁷ See Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, 114, for the quotation of Sextus on hallucinations.

Goya seems to be using the *Caprichos* as a critique along the lines of Stoicism and in conjunction with contemporary examples, including literature. He seems to distrust certain kinds of passion.

CHAPTER III PRESENTATION OF THE *CAPRICHOS* AS A BOOK

The first and second chapters were concerned with the text of the prints and the imagery. This chapter will address the function of the prints in the format in which they were published. By looking at the structure in which the prints were published, perhaps a better understanding can be gained.

Before addressing the construction and structure of the *Caprichos*, it is necessary to briefly look at some developments that are closely tied to the *Caprichos* themselves. This will include preparatory drawings; the series titles *Sueños*,²⁸⁸ as well as the purchase of materials.

The following timeline will help establish these developments:

- 1788
 - *Sueños* drawings
 - bought paper, acid and other supplies for a large etching project (nitric acid, sponges, turpentine)
- 1792-93
 - Illness
- 1794
 - acquired notebooks (began sketches that would be incorporated into the *Caprichos*)
 - bought several orders of supplies throughout the year
 - December--bought two pounds of nitric acid and 3/4 Greek fish for varnish
- 1797-98
 - When previously thought to have begun the Madrid and Sanlucár albums (albums A and B)
 - 1797 draft of announcement for 72 prints
- 1799
 - *Caprichos* published

The *Sueños* (both the drawings and prints) as well as a series of sketches, preparatory drawings and prints, as well as other preparations in 1788 show Goya was already thinking in the

²⁸⁸ Chronology of the *Caprichos* according to P. Gassier (*The Drawings of Goya*) is as follows:
Madrid Albu (album B) → *Sueños* drawings → red chalk drawings → *Caprichos* prints (states to final).

direction of the Stoics with philosophy, ethics, psychology and an interest in the human condition (psyche).²⁸⁹ This line of thought was focused and concentrated after his illness in 1792-93 in what would become the *Caprichos*, a study of human nature and a critique of humanity (or rather society). The *Sueños* (Dream) series consists of twenty-six drawings, and some states of etchings.²⁹⁰ It is important to briefly consider this series as it directly correlates to the *Caprichos*, forming a visual train of thought regarding documenting some of the themes. One example of the evolution of the sequencing begins with drawing 63 from the Madrid Album (first version), followed by *Sueño 25 (Dream of Some Men Who Were Eating Us)* and finalized in plate 13 (*They are hot*) of the *Caprichos*. Another example of the process is *Sueño 26 (The Literary Ass)* and *Caprichos* plate 39 (*As Far Back as his Grandfather*). With the combined imagery and text (titles) of *Sueño 26* and *Capricho 39*, the impression given to the viewer is one of “congenital idiocy.”

The evolution of the thought process for the *Caprichos* begins with Albums A and B, both widely accepted to provide foundation for a number of the *Caprichos*.²⁹¹ The *Sueños* series developed in Album B and intended as a set of etchings, but at some point around 1797 this was expanded into what is now the *Caprichos*. Scholarship has traditionally accepted that all of the signed plates are images from the *Sueños* series, giving the impression that the other plates were developed later.²⁹² This seems doubtful because on close inspection there are more plates signed than are recognized due to the fact that by the final state, the signature is not visible, having been obscured by layers of aquatint.

The initial conceptualization of the *Sueños* did not change but were expanded into the finished set, the *Caprichos*. From a few prints that primarily depict scenes of witchcraft in the

²⁸⁹ *Sueños* drawings follow in the literary tradition of dreams as vehicles for social satire. [Tomlinson, *Goya*, 125]

²⁹⁰ With regard the style of the *Sueños* series, Wilson-Bareau wrote that there is a “marked style change between brush and wash drawn album pages and the finely worked pen and ink *Sueños* drawings, which might suggest the Dreams came sometime later.” [*Goya in the Norton Simon Museum*, 99] This is not necessarily so. If the *Sueños* are preparatory drawings for the prints, then the line work is a better guide on copperplate than wash drawings. The style differences would seem to suggest that Goya was working through traditional approaches to preliminary work for etchings to find a more efficient process for his evolving technique.

²⁹¹ Sánchez Cantón noted that Goya devoted himself “assiduously to drawing, no longer as an aid to study but as a goal in itself, the full expression of an inspiration.” [Sánchez Cantón, *Goya*, 18]

²⁹² Harris is one of the main proponents of this thought that the signatures on some plates were done “simultaneously,” alluding that these plates had been completed earlier than the others. (Harris, 114-15)

Sueños, the series was reworked into a more complex body of work. This group, the *Caprichos*, is divided primarily into two parts, the first set which includes scenes drawn more obviously from life and the second which is more fantastical. The two parts also can be related to first the conscious and secondly the unconscious. The everyday issues addressed in the first part are also those which are suggested to be the most common to the society, whereas the second part are issues on a more personal, individual level. As such the second part uses the aspects of witchcraft and the demonic as symbols of the associated psychological problems. In these ways, the *Caprichos* seem to relate directly to the thought expressed in Seneca's *Epistle* 53 concerning different depths of sleep and dreams. (See Ch. 1) If one considers the definition of *Sueño* in the 1791 *Diccionario*, the term is linked to fantasía in the fifth part of the definition: "*Cosa fantástica, y sin fundamento, ó razon.*"²⁹³ (A fantastic thing, and without foundation, or reason.) Likewise the second definition in the *Diccionario* for *capricho* relates the term to phantasia: "*Llámase tambien fantasía. Mentis conceptus, phantasia.*"²⁹⁴ It would seem then, that Goya did not reject the *Sueños* project but rather that he incorporated those prints and expanded his theme in a new direction. The print series, *Los Caprichos*, is the final result.

One problem concerning the *Caprichos* is the question of when the drawings were begun (or made) and when the copperplates were etched. Pierre Gassier and Juliet Wilson in *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya* report that the "Sanlúcar Album" (Album A), the first notebook or compilation of a series of private drawings completed by Goya, were "made during his stay with the Duchess of Alba at her Sanlúcar estate, probably during the summer of 1796."²⁹⁵ Numerous other scholars, including Eleanor Sayre, have upheld this view of when the drawings were made. However, there are several sources which have challenged this dating of the drawings, placing the starting dates for Album A and B in 1793/94: Juliet Wilson-Bareau (*Goya in the Norton Simon Museum* 2016), Manuela Mena (*La duquesa de Alba, "musa" de Goya*, 2006)

²⁹³ *Diccionario*, 780.

²⁹⁴ *Diccionario*, 188. See also Paul Ilie's article "*Capricho/Caprichoso: A Glossary of Eighteenth-Century Usages.*" One problem with Ilie's argument is that he for whatever reason omitted part of the definition from the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*. This invalidates his point on p. 241 that "there is no evidence for identifying *capricho* with *fantasía*."

²⁹⁵ Gassier and Wilson, *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya*, 171.

(both of whom determine the date of the Sanlúcar album to be earlier, in 1794), Botín Foundation and Prado Catalogue (2017), Herbert Klingender (*Goya in the Democratic Tradition* 1968), F. J. Sanchez Canton (*Goya* 1930 [1964]; *The Life and Works of Goya* 1954[1964]).

Wilson-Bareau identified some elements indicating the dating of the Album B (Madrid) through the connections between the small painting of the Duchess of Alba and her old nurse (1795) with the images of the Duchess of Alba on verso pages of Album A and the final drawing in Album B. A lengthy inscription as well as the account written to Zapater in August 1794 are both similar to the last drawing of Album B.²⁹⁶ Wilson-Bareau also points to the altarpiece for a cathedral at Valencia as one of the first appearances of monsters in Goya's work.²⁹⁷ In addition Klingender asserted that Goya "made the first designs for the etchings themselves" while working on the cabinet paintings bought by the Osunas and that Goya began work on the *Caprichos* towards the end of 1793.²⁹⁸

The sketchbooks, like the commentaries included with certain bound copies before publication, deserve more attention. Previously, as mentioned, the issue of the timeframe when the sketchbooks were purchased and used challenges long held perceptions of the *Caprichos*, and to Goya's work in general. The various scenes of people, in different situations and settings, are literally drawn on real life. They were ultimately selected and arranged in such a way to represent actual life, including the external events and forces encountered at the time. Even the plates later in the series, as representations of a fantastic dream world, are the expressions of the inner workings of the human being. The sketchbooks allowed Goya to study human nature in such a way that the shift, or evolution, in the plates from an outer to an inner reality was made possible.

Not only is the presentation of the *Caprichos* unusual but the way in which Goya utilized his sketchbooks in a previously uncommon manner. This is relevant in that it shows Goya was

²⁹⁶ Wilson-Bareau, *Goya in the Norton Simon*, 95-6.

²⁹⁷ Wilson-Bareau, *Goya in the Norton Simon*, 91.

²⁹⁸ Klingender, *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, p. 106 and 85.

beginning to think differently about how he worked.²⁹⁹ No longer were the sketchbooks random exercises or visual notes for later use in some other work.³⁰⁰ Each page of the sketchbook was devoted to only one drawing.³⁰¹ As Sayre remarked in *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, the books resemble written journals, literary in Goya's use of language, playing with multiple meaning of words.³⁰² The drawings in Goya's sketchbooks were rough, but complete drawings in themselves, each with a cohesive composition and subject.³⁰³ They were a whole. In other words, the albums A and B serve as a new treatment /concept for use of sketchbook. Goya's albums serve as mock-ups for the *Caprichos*. The sketchbooks can also be viewed as a visual language, as a literary work themselves.³⁰⁴

As with other aspects of when work was done on the *Caprichos*, there has been some question of when and where Goya began his sketchbooks. Although there was a small disagreement, many scholars believed the albums were either purchased or received at a later point, during one of his visits to the property owned by the Duchess of Alba in Sanlúcar.

²⁹⁹ Gassier, Francisco Goya Drawings, 6,13,48. "Goya rarely departed on traditional designs or symbols. But he often expressed himself in sequences of works which, taken as a whole, afford revealing insights into his mind and his which may either develop an event or an idea, or may come as successive expressions or visions forming a commentary on an idea or an emotion, or on related ideas and emotions." [p.6] "By proceeding this way, Goya went on from the purely numerical order of the pages in the Madrid album (B) in which the only sequences in subject matter are those between the recto and verso of the same sheet, to a logical order obtained at times at the cost of sweeping changes..." [p. 13] "autograph captions to the Sueños are far closer to those of the drawings in the Madrid album than to the definitive titles of the relative *Caprichos*..." [p. 48] "Initially, in both the album drawings and the *Sueños* prints, each scene could have only one meaning, whereas in the definitive form of the *Caprichos* it is open to so many different interpretations, religious, political, social, erotic or a variety of others." [p. 48] "To every man his truth." [p. 48]

³⁰⁰ Sayre, *Goya and Spirit of Enlightenment*, xcv. As Sayre remarked in *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, "Goya's notebooks did not resemble usual artists' notebooks, which are apt to consist of casual assemblies of portrait heads, drapery studies, and sketches for compositions. Neither were the sketchbooks with an intermittent record of places Goya saw or picturesque figures drawn from life. From the beginning, Goya transmuted these books into visual equivalents of literary journals." Sayre also observed that the "brilliant use of small areas of white to call attention to details of ideological importance." (xcvi)

³⁰¹ I have not specifically looked at this thought, but I believe there are themes present in the sketchbook that are grouped by topic. Sayre has documented the way that each notebook has its own theme and style, as well as technique.

³⁰² Sayre, *Goya in the Spirit of Enlightenment*, xcvi.

³⁰³ See Wilson-Bareau *Goya in the Norton Simon Museum*.

³⁰⁴ Also a little like fairy tales in the format of frame tales with the moral at the end; the commentaries are like the fairy tale morals. Another example is the short morals at the end of some of the fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm.

However, more recently there has been a different scenario presented. The “Sanlúcar” album was most likely purchased in Cadiz, “at the time of Goya’s stay there following the cerebral attack he suffered in February 1793.”³⁰⁵ However, Sayre wrote that “Goya almost certainly acquired these imported sketchbooks in 1796 in the South of Spain ...more likely in the port city of Cadiz which is not far from Sanlúcar.”³⁰⁶ The argument for the earlier date is more persuasive.

A different point that seems to correspond with the earlier date is the view that some scholars, such as Sayre and Harris, hold that the scenes pertaining to witchcraft are the plates that were worked first. The predominant reason they believe this is so is the style of the print, which is generally lighter in tone and consists mainly of etched lines and virtually no aquatint. In other words, Goya’s style and skills with aquatint had not yet been developed. One might gather from this that it was Goya’s focus was still on issues surrounding the theme of witchcraft around 1788. Manuela Mena noted that Goya bought acid in 1788, 1794 and 1797 per records of his supplier, Manuel Ezquerro y Trapaga.³⁰⁷ In addition to the acid purchased, Wilson-Bareau has remarked that records from Goya’s supplier suggest “the possibility of an etching project in 1788” which would correspond to the etching of the witchcraft prints.³⁰⁸ Wilson-Bareau further cites documentation that shows records of paper and acid in late November and early December 1794.³⁰⁹ These records give a clear indication that Goya was working, if not on plates that would ultimately be part of the *Caprichos*, then certainly on new etching techniques.

Another curiosity is the draft of a 1797 announcement advertising the forthcoming series of prints by Goya. Three authors who cite the 1797 announcement are F.J. Sanchez Canton, H.

³⁰⁵ Wilson-Bareau, *Goya in the Norton Simon Museum*, p.92. It has been noted that some of Goya’s friends in Southern Spain were merchants and that he either purchased a sketchbook from one of them or was gifted a sketchbook by one or some other friend in the region.

³⁰⁶ Sayre, *Goya and Spirit of Enlightenment*, xcv.

³⁰⁷ Manuela Mena, *La duquesa de Alba*, “musa” de Goya, 166 and 184-85. Manuela Mena noted that records show Goya purchased 2.5 libras in 1788 and 2 libras in 1794. (two libras = 1 litro (litre) Also, Manuela Mena is one of the few who specifically states that “*aqua fuerte*” is nitric acid. This may seem like an unimportant point, but in etching it is significant. See also Wilson-Bareau, *Goya in the Norton Simon Museum*, 91.

³⁰⁸ Wilson-Bareau, *Goya in the Norton Simon*, 95.

³⁰⁹ Wilson-Bareau, *Goya in the Norton Simon*, 95. The new documentation Wilson-Bareau refers to is published in Manuela Mena’s book, *La duquesa de Alba*, “musa” de Goya. (S. T. Prideaux, E. S. Lumsden, and A. Hind were some of the few stating that work on the *Caprichos* began in 1793(4). And was finishes by 1796-7, or 1798 per Lumsden. Klingender it seems has been proven correct.

Klingender, and Juliet Wilson-Bareau.³¹⁰ While these authors cite the announcement, or the draft of the announcement, there is not much that is said by Klingender or Sanchez Canton other than speculating that by increasing the number from 72 prints to 80 prints which Goya enabled to increase the price to a full ounce of gold. Wilson-Bareau makes a very pertinent observation, noting that in addition to the 1797 announcement, the drawings for the print originally intended to be the frontispiece clearly is marked in Goya's handwriting, "Drawn...by Goya in the year 1797."³¹¹ Additionally, Wilson-Bareau draws a connection with Quevedo³¹² in that "almost exactly a century earlier," Quevedo's *Los Sueños* (*Dreams*) were published with a frontispiece similar to *Sueño* 1 and *Capricho* 43.³¹³ Another possibility is that the timing, health and design were also responsible in the delay of publication. Since there is so little evidence, there is no real way of knowing precisely what Goya's reasoning for the delay or alterations were.

Often in scholarship and exhibits there is only reference to unbound prints, either singly or in groups, from the *Caprichos*. This occurs so frequently it seems that people forget that the *Caprichos* were originally published and sold in book format. Also in 19th century, a number of bound sets were dismantled and displayed on walls (this "tradition" continues).³¹⁴ As Wilson-Bareau has observed, the *Caprichos* were "marketed...as a paperback book of caricatures."³¹⁵ After Goya gave the remaining unsold copies of the *Caprichos* and the plates to the King, the

³¹⁰ Sanchez Canton, *The Life and Works of Goya*, 67 and 158. "The series of seventy-two prints announced in 1797 had been increased to eighty, plus the self-portrait of their etcher wearing a top hat, which became the frontispiece in place of the original one, now no. 43, The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters, previously titles, Universal Language, Drawn and Etched by Fr. De Goya A.D. 1797."

³¹¹ Wilson, Bareau, *Goya in Norton Simon Museum*, 100. "That Goya intended to publish this series in 1797 is indicated by the rest of the inscription 'Drawn...by Goya in the year 1797'."

³¹² For more regarding Quevedo and Stoicism, see Ettighausen's *Francisco de Quevedo and the Neostoic Movement*.

³¹³ Wilson-Bareau, *Goya in the Norton Simon Museum*, 110 note 118. By referencing the time between Quevedo's *Sueños* and Goya's *Caprichos*, this is slightly misleading because in the cited material, Sayre references the anthology of Quevedo's work published in 1699 and not the date of the first publication of *Los Sueños* in 1627. To further the misunderstanding is the conflation of the actual publication date of Goya's *Caprichos* and the evidence (the announcement draft and the preparatory drawing for plate 43) for an earlier plan for publication in 1797.

³¹⁴ One notable example was the set in the collection once owned by Guiot, who mounted the prints on pink paper.

³¹⁵ Wilson-Bareau, *Goya in the Norton Simon Museum*, 91. Wilson-Bareau also describes the *Caprichos* as "the final version of an idea for a somewhat different set of prints" and that Goya, according to the drawing of the 1797 frontispiece, originally intended to publish his caricatures as a series of *Sueños* (*Dreams*), under the general title *Universal Language*.

Calcografía Nacional later in the nineteenth century printed and distributed more copies of the *Caprichos* as well as selling individual prints.³¹⁶ This practice was ended a few decades later. The publication of the prints as a book has a very real significance on the way the viewer interacts with and understands the work.

By removing the issue of the questions concerning the order of the prints, mainly the subjects of which plates were etched first and the placement of the prints in the numbered sequence that some scholars have been preoccupied with, one is free to take a different approach to the order of the prints.³¹⁷ While these questions and studies are relevant in providing new or different ways of understanding the prints, which are both useful and helpful, they do not take into consideration the art object (the artist's book) as it was actually published. As a book, the focus of the order takes a more thematic turn. One may even say that the prints can be divided into sections or chapters.³¹⁸

The actual presentation of the *Caprichos* as bound volumes (books) is important to the understanding of the whole.³¹⁹ The bound *Caprichos* fall into three categories. First, there were complete sets of working proofs which were bound, ostensibly to be circulated among friends during a proofing process, before corrections or numbering.³²⁰ Other sets, also consisting of prints pulled at various states, were bound with the exception that they included a copy of the

³¹⁶ See Glendinning's article "A further note on the printing and distribution of Goya's etchings in nineteenth-century Spain." Some bound sets were presented as diplomatic gifts. There is no indication in the advertisement in the *Diario* or the letters written to the King offering the prints and plates that any of the prints from the *Caprichos* were sold individually.

³¹⁷ Harris, *Goya* I, 99-102. Harris has been one of the main scholars preoccupied with the order of the prints. "No successful attempt has yet been made to put the plates of this series into chronological order, nor is it known exactly when Goya started on them." Other scholars such as Lopes-Rey speculated about the possible order (sequence) of the images: why place them in the order they are as well as which plate was worked first, second, etc. This is perhaps not the most efficient way to look at question of sequence. Some exhibitions have also stressed that unbound aspects of the prints, which have enabled them to explore other interpretations. One such example is *Goya Disordered*.

³¹⁸ Whether one would want to breakdown the prints into a first part and a second part or instead consider the series to be two distinct volumes bound in a single book is an interesting question, but is not for discussion here.

³¹⁹ Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, xcvi-xcviii. Sayre makes the case that the *Caprichos* are a visual interpretation of Quevedo's *Sueños*.

³²⁰ Wilson-Bareau, *Goya in the Norton Simon*, 95-101.

manuscript commentary.³²¹ Finally, the sets published for sale, were the final (approved) copy of the *Caprichos*.

The “Prado commentary” is controversial because some doubt remains as to how they were written: by Goya himself, Goya’s scribe, Ceán Bermúdez or another friend or as part of a collaboration or a dictation.³²² Prado commentary is close enough to the text written on the preliminary drawings and sketches that I feel they can demonstrate reliably Goya’s thought(s). If Goya did not approve of them (comments) it is doubtful he would have allowed them to be put on his drawings. Also, there is the question of why he would submit a copy to Ceán Bermúdez for proofing if he did not approve of them (the fact that they were not included with the finished, bound prints may indicate a change of mind for whatever reason).

Tomás Harris documented the transfer of the copy of the trial proof set with manuscript sheets from Ceán Bermúdez to Valentín Carderera. Harris noted that “the first sheet is identical with the advertisement published in the *Diario*, except that at the end, instead of the announcement of the sale of 80 plates, there is a note saying that an edition will be printed for subscribers from 72 plates.”³²³ Harris also notes the eight additional plates are not necessarily plate 73-80 because “as all the working proofs are before the engraved numbers and as the numbers and titles would probably have been engraved in the printer’s workshop after the plates had been handed over for the making of the edition.”³²⁴ In spite of his attempt and that of others, Harris acknowledges the reason for ineffectiveness of efforts to identify the order of the execution of the prints.

³²¹ Wilson-Bareau, *Goya in the Norton Simon*, 95-101. The commentary is described as being bound “interleaved with the prints” and “bound with the prints.” See Harris as well as Gassier and Wilson-Bareau for notes on bound proofs.

³²² Sayre, *Changing Image*, 57 (25). Sayre questions the attribution of the Prado manuscript commentary. Others have also questioned the attribution. For example, Harris suggests three possibilities: by Goya’s own hand, by Goya’s scribe and color grinder Pedro Gomeaz, or copied by Ceán Bermúdez who then returned the originals to Goya. Another manuscript containing these same commentaries was also in Carderera’s collection and is now in the Prado Museum. [Harris, *Goya I*, 98]

³²³ Harris, *Goya I*, 95-98. Harris also wrote that “the Ceán Bermúdez trial proof set which Carderera owned contains, in addition to the commentary, a manuscript prologue, (or draft advertisement), also said by Carderera to be composed by Goya. ... At the end of it is a note which reads: ‘subscriptions for this work will be accepted at the bookshop of ____ and the cost of each set of 72 prints is 288 reales’.”

³²⁴ Harris, *Goya I*, 102-5.

The *Caprichos*, in their numerical order, can be divided into sequences of prints as chapters with like themes. In broad terms the sections can be categorized as the frontispiece, social foibles, the Ass series, the witches and malicious humans, and finally the Hobgoblins. Continuing in general terms, the broad characteristics of the Ass series encompasses idiocy of attitude and behavior. The witches segment includes evil, or at the very least malicious and detrimental, actions and teachings. The Hobgoblins, who extraordinarily enough, seem more human than the humans and function as the device of the “moral” or saying at the end of fairy tales (Giovanni Francesco Straparola, Mme d’Aulnoy, Charles Perrault, and Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm).

As previously accepted, the *Caprichos* are divided into two, almost equal, parts.³²⁵ The first part consists of the more obvious social interactions, and given the satirical nature (often with comical bent) the darkness of the subject matter doesn’t seem as frightful. The second part refers to similar topics at a deeper, more personal, and more psychological level.

Goya’s text is like that of Gracián, Seneca, and Epictetus in that the captions are short, pithy sentences or phrases accompanied with the commentaries as longer, equally enigmatic musings. The similarity between Goya’s texts and Gracián’s is most striking when the aphoristic captions and the commentaries are read together.³²⁶ As such they are almost identical to the format Gracián used. For example, the tenth aphorism from Gracián’s *Oráculo Manual*, is as follows:

Fortune and Fame. Where the one is fickle the other is enduring. The first for life, the second afterwards; the one against envy, the other against oblivion. Fortune is desired, at times assisted: fame is earned. The desire for fame springs from man’s best part. It was and is the sister of the giants; it always goes to extremes—horrible monsters or brilliant prodigies.³²⁷

³²⁵ Like others, Klingender references the view that the *Caprichos* are divided in two parts, each with an introduction (self-portrait). He regards the first part as images of illicit love, human misery, and miscellaneous other follies. [Klingender, *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, 87]

³²⁶ The fact that there were several working copies (proofs) of the *Caprichos* circulated to Goya’s friends with the commentaries, either bound or interleaved, and then it seems the commentaries cannot be ignored. The point that the commentaries were not published with the finished work does prompt more questions, which are unlikely to be answered. However, I feel that to disregard the commentaries altogether would be a poor choice.

³²⁷ Gracián, *Pocket Oracle*, 5-6.

In the *Caprichos*, each plate is numbered in the upper right corner with the caption, or phrase resembling an aphorism, engraved on the plate below the image. The commentary was on a separate sheet. This slight separation would not interfere with the contemporary reader from recognizing the format.³²⁸ One example is as follows:

56. *To Rise and Fall*. Fortune maltreats those who court her. Efforts to rise she rewards with hot air and those who have risen she punishes with downfall.

Goya's text is also similar those of Gracián, Seneca, and Epictetus that are in (broad) groups, although the themes and subjects vary, together they present a strong statement. The texts (captions and manuscript explanations) work whether you agree that the explanations were actually written (dictated) by Goya or believe they were written by someone else after extensive discussions with Goya. In short, Goya's own use of language (written) and visual images create multiple layers of meaning.

One interpretation of the meaning of the prints can be based on the idea that the prints can be grouped in smaller thematic arrangements. In addition to the sections here, there is also a pattern that develops in both the first and second parts of the *Caprichos*. The concepts of appearances (*phantasia*), passions, morals, and madness can be seen in varying degrees within the *Caprichos*. The pattern relates to the prominent aspects of these four concepts. These divisions are repeated in the second part as well. (In the chart below, the prints in these four categories are highlighted alternately for ease of identification.) In treating these like chapters of a book, the sometimes abrupt changes in topic make more sense. The following division is only one proposed reading of the *Caprichos*. The figures included will hopefully provide a visual overview.

³²⁸ This format is perhaps strongest in English translations, especially with the 1892 publication of Jacob's translation and the translation published by Dent (1953) and Robbins's translation. In a related thought, there are a number of Gracián's aphorisms that are closely associated in thought with the *Caprichos*, in general and in specific instances. One example, the second aphorism in Gracián's *Oraculo*, which seems to relate to sentiments throughout the *Caprichos*, is as follows: "2: Inclination and Ingenuity. The two axes around which talents shine: one without the other, only half the happiness. Intelligence is not enough; you need also the right disposition. The misfortune of fools: to make unsuitable choices regarding their position in society, occupation, dwelling-place and friendships." (Robbins, *The Pocket Oracle*, 3)

1	Frontispiece for the first part (entirety)	43	Frontispiece for the second part
2	Mercenary actions	44	Education (part 2)
3			
4			
5	Courtship, flirtations and other social interactions.	46	
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
11	The foibles of the lower classes.	49	The type and classification of people, or appearances.
12			
13	Plates 15 through 17 form a sub-group (<i>maja</i> or prostitute, part 1)	51	
14			
15			
16			
17			
18			
19	The follies of young prostitutes (part 2)	53	Perceptions and presentations (of personal faults, errors, and extremes in terms of passions)
20			
21			
22			
23	The absurdities and unfairness of the Inquisition trials	55	
24			
25	Education; to spare the rod and spoil the child?	56	
26			
27	Self-centered people unconcerned with anything but their own interests	57	
28			
29			
30			
31	Cause and effect of female behavior, or the prostitute's fate	58	Precarious situations
32			
33	Fools and the people or events that take advantage of them	59	
34			
35			
36			
37	The asinine, or pretentious	60	Supports for flight(s) [of fancy]
38			
39			
40			
41			
42			

43	Frontispiece for the second part
44	Education (part 2)
45	
46	
47	
48	The type and classification of people, or appearances.
49	
50	Perceptions and presentations (of personal faults, errors, and extremes in terms of passions)
51	
52	
53	
54	
55	Precarious situations
56	
57	Supports for flight(s) [of fancy]
58	
59	
60	
61	Subversion (mainly of the Church), extremism
62	
63	
64	
65	
66	Actions, choices and consequences
67	
68	
69	
70	
71	
72	
73	
74	The moral, posed in the two prints
75	
76	
77	
78	The end
79	
80	

Figure 2. A summary of the Sections in the *Caprichos*.

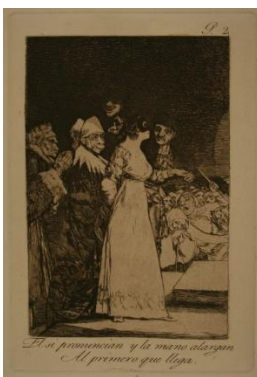
<i>Caprichos</i>	<i>Sueños</i>	Album B
5	19	--
7	21	B.19
11	28	B.88
13	25	Other drawing
14	15	--
16	?	B.6
18	?	B.86
27	18	B.72 (<i>brujas</i>); other drawing
39	26? <i>El Asno Literato</i>	Other drawing
40	27	Other drawing
43	1	--
54	?	--
60	2	--
62	10	--
63	8	--
65	9	--
66	5	--
68	4	--
69	7	B.57 (<i>brujas</i>)
70	3	B.56 (<i>brujas</i>)
Dream of Lying	?	--
Not part of final version of <i>Los Caprichos</i> :		
36 (<i>Mala Noche</i>)	22	B.81
50 (<i>Chinchillas</i>)	?	--
Similar to <i>La filiacion</i>	11	B.59 (masc. ^s)
n/a; but similar to <i>Soplones</i>	6	--
Transferred but no impressions	16	Other drawing
8 (<i>Que le la llevaron!</i>)		B.61 (caricat. ^s), some similarity

Figure 3. Comparison of *Caprichos*, *Sueños*, and Album B drawings.



Frontispiece. The frontispiece for the *Caprichos* is Goya's self-portrait. The interesting point is that Goya emphasizes his position, not as an artist or an author, but as a painter. This starkly simple frontispiece is of a fashionable man but does not give many clues as to the character of the man or the prints that follow.

In the frontispiece for the series, this self-portrait in profile is predominantly triangular. The focal point is the triangle composed of the head and upper torso. A secondary triangle is formed with the inclusion of the hat, although the relative lack of depth through chiaroscuro flattens the hat to a short rectangular form. With the mass of the hat and the selective marks forming the background, the viewer's focus is directed to the face and held there. The triangular form reinforces the perception of the authority of the artist.



Pl. 2, *El si pronuncian.*³²⁹



Pl. 3, *Que viene el Coco.*



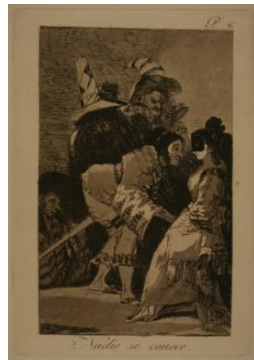
Pl. 4, *El de la rollana.*

³²⁹ The plates are from the series of Francisco Goya, *Los Caprichos*, 1799, etching and aquatint, 215mm X 150 mm. Prints are in the collection of the Alan R. Hite Fine Art Institute, University of Louisville. A 1937 gift from the Carnegie Corporation.

Part 1: *Mercenary actions*. Appearances are a central theme in this group. Although these three prints are very different in terms of subject, they are associated with some of the main social criticisms of the time. The censured practices include restricting the liberties of unmarried women, the concept of the *cortejo* which was despised yet tolerated, and the unmotivated and unproductive offspring of the aristocracy and wealthy middle-class who live in an infantile state. However, the connecting concept is the grasping nature of each central figure. In pl. 2, *El si pronuncian y la mano alargan Al primero que llega* (They say yes and give their hand to the first comer), the young woman is entering a marriage of convenience. Her actions are deliberate and highlight her choice in the matter. The young woman is looking forward to the supposed freedoms offered through marriage, such as the ability to go to a variety of gatherings (*tertulias*, theater, balls, coffee houses to name a few) and the increased spending capabilities for her own parties and the latest fashions. Pl. 3 *Que viene el Coco* (Here comes the bogey-man) , shows the woman, with the assistance of her lover playing the bogey-man, taking advantage of the situation by playing on the fears and superstitions held by her children. The lover, likely also a *cortejo*, is clearly welcomed by the woman who stares at him with open desire. The third print, pl. 4, *El de la rollona* (Nanny's boy), does not involve a romantic relationship. Instead the young man refuses to take responsibility, to become a man. He is an example of what the ilustrados believed to be wrong with the youth in their society.



Pl. 5, *Tal para qual*.



Pl. 6, *Nadie se conoce*.



Pl. 7, *Ni así la distingue*.



Pl. 8, *Que se la llevaron*.



Pl. 9, *Tantalo*.



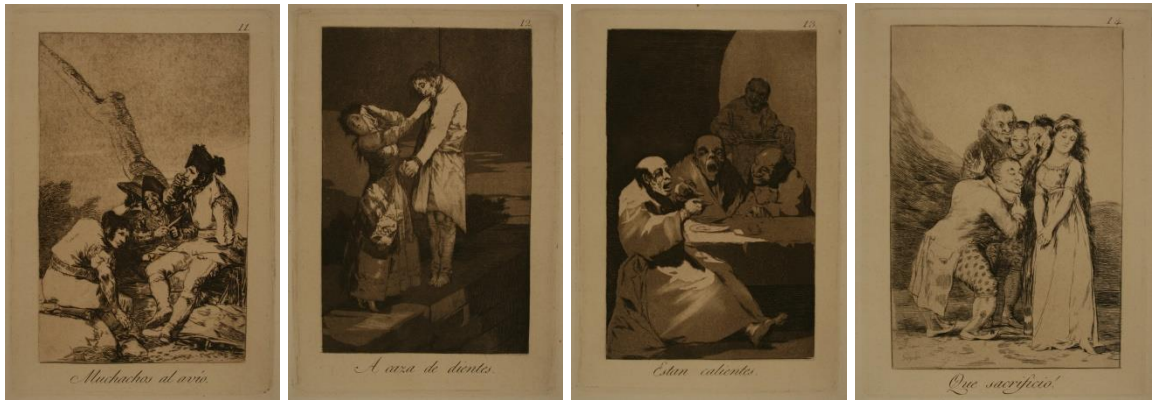
Pl. 10, *El amor y la muerte*.

Part 2: *Social interactions*. As with the previous group, these prints are also concerned with appearance, but to a greater degree. The “romantic” relationships are the primary theme of this set. The first three prints in this group depict variations on the games and flirtations of courtship. The remaining three relate to the negative results those flirtations sometimes yield. This group exhibits variations on the games and flirtations of courtship. Plates 5 through 7 are the beginning of a relationship, when the *maja* and *petimetre* are becoming acquainted, and the *petimetre* attempts to figure out the *maja*.

Plate 8, *Que se la llevaron* (They carried her off!) is the most violent. The assault is uncivilized. Although the principal instigator is unrecognizable, he is either a *majo* or a class below. The figure aiding in the abduction is dressed in robes resembling those of the Church, though it is doubtful he is a member of the clergy. The commentary suggests that this kidnapping took place because she could not protect herself. The viewer is left to speculate whether that was because she was unmarried, without family, or if she was a prostitute whether she had the protection of a *Celestina*. It may be that the man carried her off believing her to be what she was not, that he misidentified her and that the print is a caution against behavior seen in plates 5 through 7.

Pl. 9 *Tantalo* (Tantalus) also places emphasis on the man. Even though it is uncertain whether the woman is dead, or just bored to death, the overly dramatic, affected behavior of the man is repulsive to the woman who is the object of his attentions. The assault by this extremely refined bore is second only to the actions of the men in the previous plate. Lastly, pl. 10 *El amor*

y la muerte (Love and death) could be considered the conclusion of this set, with a stark warning that such behaviors can end in dire consequences.



Pl. 11, *Muchachos al avío*. Pl. 12, *A caza de dientes*. Pl. 13, *Estan calientes*. Pl. 14, *Que sacrificio!*



Pl. 15, *Bellos consejos*. Pl. 16, *Dios la perdone: Y era su madre*. Pl. 17, *Bien triada está*. Pl. 18, *Ysele quema la Casa*.

Part 3: *Foibles of the Lower Classes*. Passions are central themes in this group, and even though they are not as harmful, these passions have the potential for greater harm. Each print involves the choices and actions which people choose to better their position in whatever circumstance. Again Goya shows the absurdity of such beliefs and actions as well as pointing to potential dangers. This part begins with a group of ruffians, or bandits, biding their time before resuming their next heist in pl. 11 *Muchachos al avío* (Lads making ready). The superstitious woman in pl. 12 *A caza de dientes* (Out hunting for teeth) is desperate enough the do the

gruesome task of taking teeth from a corpse. She is firmly entrenched in her false beliefs.

Gluttony, in reference to different types of appetites, is the focal point in pl. 13 *Estan calientes* (They are hot). In pl 14, *Que sacrificio!* (What a sacrifice!) the subject is marriage. It is suggested to be an arranged marriage. This print differs from pl. 2 *El si pronuncian y la mano alargan Al primero que llega* (They say yes and give their hand to the first comer) in that it is the family that eagerly makes the choice, not the young woman.

Plates 15 through 17 form a subsection which concentrates on the young woman's training, in which the *maja* is not very different from the prostitute. These show the passing of a trade, or technique, from one generation to the next in pl 15 *Bellos consejos* (Pretty teachings) and pl. 17 *Bien tirada está* (It is nicely stretched). However, the younger woman as suggested in pl.16 may not feel any sort of fealty if one accepts the older woman as her mother. (It is possible that the older woman in pl. 16 *Dios la perdone: Y era su madre* (For heaven's sake: and it was her mother) is instead either an older version of the girl herself, or a portent of what awaits her in the form of the women who have gone before.)

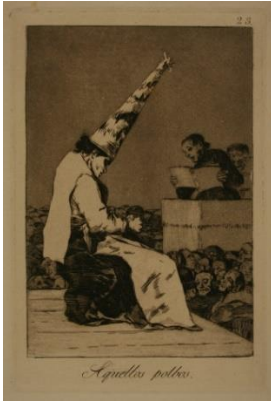
Pl. 18 *Ysele quema la Casa* (And his house is on fire) is more challenging. The drunken man, in a state of undress, appears to be close to causing a fire through careless actions. The subject of this plate has been associated with the drunkenness rampant among the *Espartero* weavers, with accounts of similar incidents in the newspapers of the time, as well as the drunken tendencies and other inappropriate behaviors among members of the clergy. Regardless of interpretation, his desire for drink relates the Stoic concept of a temporary madness that is clearly presented in the figure's drunken state. Here passion and madness are connected as he accidentally sets the house on fire. This print is on par with the poor choices seen in the other prints which have consequences. It is also a fitting conclusion to this group in that it shows how the irrationality of certain behaviors is detrimental.



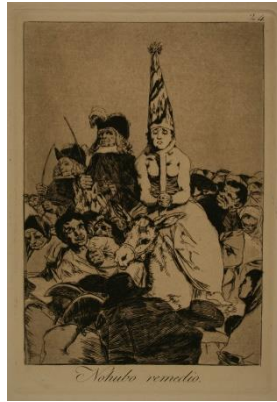
Pl. 19, *Todos Caerán*. Pl. 20, *Ya van desplumados*. Pl. 21, *¡Qual la descañonan!* Pl. 22, *Pobrecitas!*

Part 4: *Follies of young prostitutes*. The passions in this group are certainly destructive and define one aspect of the danger of such desires. This part can also be viewed as progressive actions that lead to judgment and finally punishment. At the same time the judicial attitudes are perhaps suggested to be too harsh.

Plate 19 *Todos Caerán* (All will fall) and pl. 20 *Ya van desplumados* (There they go plucked) feature a young bird-woman whose purpose is to lure or attract the bird-men as a decoy. She is employed by the Celestine and her young women. Once the women have caught their prey, they pluck, or fleece, them before shoosing the men on their way. In the next plate, *¡Qual la descañonan!* (How they pluck her!), the female decoy, here a symbol for prostitutes in general, is caught by the bailiffs and magistrate. The commentary suggests that the legal system preys on the prostitutes like the prostitutes did their victims. Plate 22 *Pobrecitas!* (Poor little girls!) shows the conclusion to these events where the young women are being led away to either a reformatory or jail. The ways in which the bait and targets are depicted so fancifully give the illusion of being a fable or something similar to fairy tales by Straparola or Basile. The fourth print with all the characters in their human forms reinforces the moral of this section.



Pl. 23, *Aquellos polvos.*



Pl. 24, *Nohubo remedio.*

Part 5: *Absurdities of the Inquisition.* Morals, or more specifically the abuses done in the name of morality, are the focal point here. The absurdities and unfairness of the trials are the central aspects of these prints. In pl. 23, *Aquellos polvos* (Those specks of dust), the charges against the poor woman are ludicrous. The trial more of a spectacle than a legitimate procedure. Likewise, in pl. 24, *Nohubo remedio* (Nothing could be done about it), the treatment of the accused is unfair and continues the spectacle.



Pl. 25, *Si quebró el Cantaro.*



Pl. 26, *Ya tienen asiento.*

Part 6: *Education.* The lack of application of morals, not to mention education, is seen in these plates. Plates 25 and 26 exemplify more the lack of education than its product. The force of the beating the mother gives the boy in pl. 25, *Si quebró el Cantaro* (Yes he broke the pot) seems excessive and perhaps counterproductive. As the commentary asks, which is worse the mischievous boy or the irascible mother? If the mother had more access to education (and other

resources), she would have more control over her own actions making her less prone to anger and excessive reactions. If the boy had more training in appropriate behavior in various situations, he would not be so destructive. The girls in pl. 26, *Ya tienen asiento* (They've already got a seat), make one think that if they had been taught manners, comportment, or even a useful occupation, they would not be exposing their conceit, their foolishness, or themselves to such irrational behavior and potential physical harm.



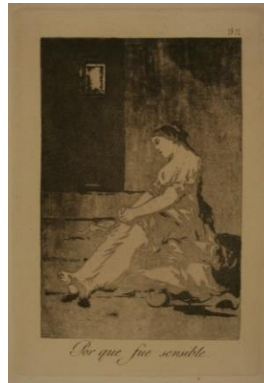
Pl. 27, *Quien mas rendido?* Pl. 28, *Chinton*. Pl. 29, *Esto si que es leer*. Pl. 30, *Porque esconderlos?*

Part 7: *Self-centered people*. The departure from accepted morals is part of this section. In plates 27, *Quien mas rendido?* (Which of them is the more overcome?), the main objective is to engage in behavior that will satisfy their own desires while not caring for how others feel. In pl. 28, *Chinton* (Hush) the self-centeredness resolve around secrets and trysts, carelessly involving others. The people in these two plates are unconcerned with anything but their own interests. Relationships are reduced to transaction and trying to decide which is more advantageous in the first and in the second the older woman is used to facilitate a different transaction. The next two plates center on how people focusing on how something will benefit themselves, to spend or to hoard, when neither is beneficial depending on circumstances and there will always be people who want to help part you from your money. The man in pl. 29, *Esto si que es leer* (That indeed is reading), is so affected in his actions; he cannot be bothered to pay attention. All he ends up doing is fooling himself. Even if he is not sleeping, then it would still be difficult to read through the cloud of dust as his hair is powdered. And in the fourth plate, *Porque esconderlos?* (Why

hide them?), the old man's fear of being without enough money immobilizes him. Greed and grief compound his fearful despair, which is not eased by the jeering crowd.



Pl. 31, *Por que fue sensible*.



Pl. 32, *Ruega por ella*.

Part 8: *Cause and effect*. The theme of morals is brought to a conclusion this part. The focus of this pair is female behavior. Although it could be compared to other critiques of immoral behavior, such as William Hogarth's *Harlot* series, by making comparisons to the prostitute's fate, these are associated with historical events that interested Goya and his circle of friends. A notable example is the subject of Moratín's *Arte de las putas*. One case in particular that was associated with pl. 32, *Por que fue sensible* (Because she was sensible), was the trial of a young wife and her lover in the death of her husband.³³⁰ Pl. 31, *Ruega por ella* (She prays for her), as the commentary suggests, is more an prayer for protection as the young woman readies for work. The second plate, *Por que fue sensible* (Because she was sensible), points to the inevitable consequences of such work.

³³⁰ See Nigel Glendinning's article, "Goya on Women in the Caprichos: the case of Castillo's wife."



Pl. 33, *Al Conde Palatino*. Pl. 34, *Las rinde el Sueño* Pl. 35, *Le descañona* Pl. 36, *Mala noche*.

Part 9: *Fools*. This group features a mild form of madness in the way each figure responds to their situation. These are fools and the people or the events that gain advantage over them. The charlatan in pl.33, *Al Conde Palatino* (To the Count Paltine or Count of the Palate), is a quack dentist and his foolish patients, who are separated from their teeth and their money. In the next print, pl. 34 *Las rinde el Sueño* (Sleep overcomes them), it is difficult to distinguish the reason these women are imprisoned. Either way the misery of their punishment is shown, along with their only means of escape: sleep. Here sleep is a relief and not the monstrous reality. Pl. 35 *Le descañona* (She fleeces him) is more lighthearted, where the flirtatious young woman is about to separate the fool from his possessions as well as his beard. The man seems to be a willing participant. And in another dubious example, pl 36 *Mala noche* (A bad night), it is unclear whether the young women are innocent or guilty of some misbehavior. They are, however, guilty of putting themselves in danger, or in questionable circumstances to say the least. Reckless disregard is a form of foolishness, even madness.



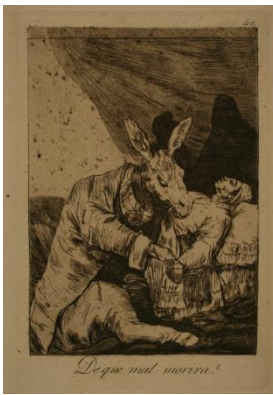
Pl. 37, *Si sabrá mas el discipulo?*



Pl. 38, *Brabisimo!*



Pl. 39, *Asta su Abuel.*



Pl. 40, *De que mal morirá?*



Pl. 41, *Ni mas ni menos.*



Pl. 42, *Tu que no puedes.*

Part 10: *The asinine, or pretentious.* This is a stronger aspect of madness that is centered on delusions. This group also resembles a fable of sorts beginning with the young donkey's training and proclivities, including obsession with his lineage. Then this group follows the donkey's career, his perceived success, and status. The master donkey in pl. 37 *Si sabrá mas el discipulo?* (Might Not the Pupil Know More?) is very serious and looks the part, but his qualifications are doubtful. While in pl. 38 *Brabisimo!* (*Bravo!*) the value or use of the senses are questioned if they are not used. The task of lineage proposed by genealogists and heralds, perhaps as a reference to precedents (real and perceived) set by his ancestors in pl. 39, *Asta su Abuelo* (And so was his grandfather). As the Prado commentary suggests these are enough to drive one mad. The so-called good doctor in pl. 40, *De que mal morirá?* (Of what ill will he die?) may have the desired bedside manner, but that means nothing if the doctor is not knowledgeable. Pl. 41 *Ni mas ni menos* (Neither more nor less) demonstrates the willful manipulating of perceptions, through the way the portrait differs from reality, based on appearances. Also in pl.

42, *Tu que no puedes* (Thou who canst not), the use of word games in terms of the *caballeros* (gentleman; horseman or rider), *caballeria* (mount; cavalry) and *caballerías* (chivalry) questions improbable appearances and roles in society.



Pl. 43, *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos*.

Introduction to Part Two: intermission and title page to second part.

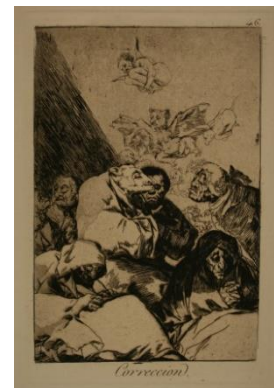
The prints before pl. 43 *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos* (The sleep of reason produces monsters) are more external situations which revolve around social functions. The prints following this plate are more internal; emphasizing the psychological processes that resemble scenarios presented in the first part, but are more symbolic or metaphoric.



Pl. 44, *Hilan Delgado*.



Pl. 45, *Mucho hay que chupar*.



Pl. 46, *Correccion*.



Pl. 47, *Obsequio á el maestro*.

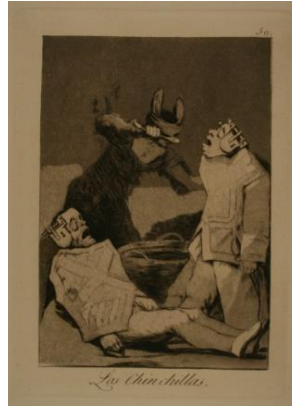


Pl. 48, *Soplones*

Part 11: *Education, part two*. Even with things that are subversive, or perverse, appearances are important in relation to what is acceptable. In these plates, the emphasis on teachings and the roles of students and teacher, proper actions and the behavior of the ignorant or poorly educated. Each of the prints in this group seem to be made in comparison with the seminary. In pl. 44, *Hilan Delgado* (They spin finely), the task of spinning is given a sinister appearance. The impression that the children, in the upper right hand corner, are being spun into a short fiber yarn, similar to flax or hemp, may be metaphors of tangled webs, entrapment, and snares. These witches have mastered the task of weaving. The actions in pl. 45 *Mucho hay que chupar* (There is plenty to suck) resemble how people, at different ages or stages, drain others of resources. The imagery in pl. 46 *Correccion* (Correction) seems to be a critique of the high level required to maintain standards as well as a critique of the assembly itself. It is perhaps the strongest in comparing witchcraft to either church seminary, or even metaphorically to the academy. The right intentions in the wrong situation would appear to sum up pl. 47, *Obsequio á el maestro* (A gift for the master), where the students are obliged to “honor” their teacher. In addition, in pl. 48, *Soplones* (Tale-bearers) presents one effect of an ignorant boast as a blast of wind that is disruptive and painful to the ears. This also relates to the indiscreet who disclose their knowledge or lack thereof.



Pl. 49, *Duendecitos*.



Pl. 50, *Chinchillas*.

Part: 12: *Classification*. This part questions the validity of appearances. The types, or classification, of people in terms of appearances reinforces their deceptive nature and that all is not always what it appears. In pl. 49, *Duendecitos* (Hobgoblins), the focus is other types of people, specifically hobgoblins, and their assumed relation between rational and irrational (good or bad). However, they are a hybrid, of traits and personalities, which serve as a bridge. In pl. 50, *Los Chinchillas* (The Chinchillas), two members of the “Chinchilla family,” a satirical reference to the ineffective lower nobility in Spain and laziness, represent the opposite of the hobgoblin, who may symbolize a supposedly good person such as a clergyman who might have questionable character. López-Rey mentioned that the *Chinchillas* could be thought of as lazy aristocratic rats. Have they are willfully deaf, dumb and blind to everything that does not cater to their whims.



Pl. 51, *Se repulen.*



Pl. 52, *Lo que puede un Sastre!*



Pl. 53, *Que pico de Oro!*



Pl. 54, *El Vergonzoso.*



Pl. 55, *Hasta la muerte.*



Pl. 56, *Subir y bajar.*



Pl. 57, *La filiación.*

Part 13: *Perception and presentation.* Passions are more extreme here. This set encompasses personal faults, errors, and extremes in terms of desires. The grooming in pl 51, *Se repulen* (They spruce themselves up), emphasizes the presentation of the self and how it can be taken to lengths that are harmful, although what is harmful is not precisely identified. It is entirely possible that it relates to the Stoic concept of being in accordance with one's nature. And excessive, or unnatural, usually presented as unnecessary, grooming practices would fall into this category. The use of cloth artfully draped in pl. 52 *Lo que puede un Sastre!* (What a tailor can do!) enhances the central feature of illusions, using a skill, such as tailoring, to mask or alter perceptions of something. This aids in the self-delusions of people concerning certain religious beliefs. The illusion presented in pl. 53 *Que pico de Oro!* (What a golden beak!) is in mistaking the identity and nature of the orator, whether it be oracle or teacher, and highlighting the errors of

the audience in terms of rhetoric and oratory. It points to the lengths some will go in deluding themselves in their participation at *tertulias*, *sainetes*, and academies. The change in the conceptualization of what is decent or indecent is the sense of perception in pl. 54 *El Vergonzoso* (The shamefaced one). In a comical, yet pathetic, manner this character has completely submitted to his desires. The problem of perception in pl. 55, *Hasta la muerte* (Until death), is self-deception regarding youth and beauty and how long it can be reasonably maintained. Even with the help of every artifice available this woman cannot sustain the illusion any longer. Likewise, in pl. 56 *Subir y bajar* (To rise and to fall), the issue is with the perception of what success is and how long it can be maintained. The problems and social implications of perception and identity are presented in pl. 57, *La filiacion* (The filiation), where the core essence of what the person actually is undetermined. In this print, the attempts are ongoing and the results seem inconclusive.



Pl. 58, *Tragalo perro*.



Pl. 59, *Y aun no se van!*

Part 14: *Precarious situations*. Morals, with the support of passions, are taken to excessive degrees in this section. Threats and consequences, in this instance unexpected, are part of this grouping. In pl. 58, *Tragalo perro* (Swallow It, Dog), the situation is quickly altered when the man who tried to punish the clergyman seen as the problem becomes the one threatened with punishment. One interpretation of this plate is alluded to in the Ayala commentary and others, specifically and most notably the English translation by Samuel Dobree, known as the Douce commentary. The Douce commentary suggests that the print refers the

story of a soldier who had a quarrel with a monk over the former's wife or mistress.³³¹ The soldier had planned to give the monk an enema, but the monk somehow learned of the plan and turned the tables on the soldier, threatening him with the enema. The Carderera commentary's observation, according to Glendinning, is perhaps the most relevant with its suggestion that "all men are perverted by passion." This view is also closely related to Stoic thought concerning bad passions.

The figures in pl. 59, *Y aun no se van!* (And still they don't go!), find themselves in a perilous position, but are either unwilling or unable to remove themselves from the point of danger. The title, *And still they don't go!*, reinforces the evil of a poor moral choice.



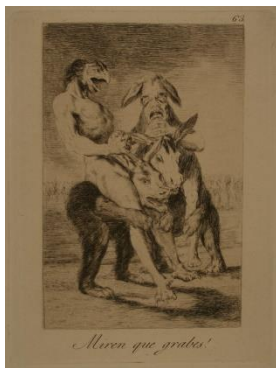
Pl. 60, *Enayos.*



Pl. 61, *Volaverunt.*



Pl. 62, *Quien lo creyera!*



Pl. 63, *Miren que grabes!*



Pl. 64, *Buen Viage*

³³¹ The subject of pl. 58 is addressed in Nigel Glendinning's article, "The Monk and the Soldier in Plate 58 of Goya's *Caprichos*," specifically pages 117-118, 120.

Part 15: *Supports for flights of fancy*. Morals are parallel but reversed from what is considered good morals. The two witches, one still learning, are practicing their technique in pl. 60, *Enayos* (Trials), showing off their skill while giving the impression that one is in the process of taking a test. The skills of the novice are not quite ready as this witch needs assistance still. The scene in pl. 61 *Volaverunt* (They have flown) poses the question of whether the foundation is necessary. Are the three witches necessary for the *maja*'s ability to fly, or are the witches an ornament for the *maja*? Perhaps the better question is who is the ornament for whom? The *maja* represents fashion obsessed women who were so absorbed with the latest trends they had nothing else on their minds, synonymous with a flibbertigibbet. Taken to extremes, such a condition can become detrimental to the person, their family and finances. This threat to the person, family and even society if enough people are affected can have disastrous results, which are compared to the witches and witchcraft. The violent mid-air fight between the witches in pl. 62 *Quien lo creyera!* (Who would have thought it!) presents an aspect of the ways such views held by these characters are incompatible in spite of similar practices. The commentary for this plate points to the disparity of friends (virtues) and associates (villans). Pl. 63 *Miren que graves!* (Look how solemn they are) is a fanciful version of a popular pastime in Goya's Madrid, an outing on the promenade. It is the witches' turn for conspicuous displays of wealth. Pl. 64, *Buen Viage* (Bon voyage), can be viewed as a summary in terms of the night time providing cover for behavior normally not tolerated during the day. The commentary reminds us that even though people may not be able to see in such darkness, it does not mean that they are unaware of what goes on. There are sounds in the dark that can alert someone to something amiss. (Darkness hides what the light exposes, but even in the cark it can be heard.)



Pl. 65, *Donde vá mamá?*



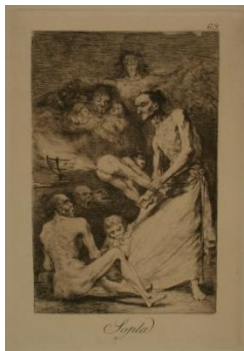
Pl. 66, *Allá vá eso.*



Pl. 67, *Aguarda que te unten.*



Pl. 68, *Linda maestra!*



Pl. 69, *Sopla.*



Pl. 70, *Devota profesión.*

Part 16: *Subversion*. Madness here is not just the irrational, but the opposite of what is considered good. The prints in this grouping center on unholy activities, where the first four plates (65 through 68) involve travels in a metaphorical sense, as well as witches not knowing where they're going. The jumble of figures supporting "mother" in pl. 65 *Donde vá mamá?* (Where is mother going?) on an outing seem disorganized at best. The commentary for pl. 66, *Allá vá eso* (There it goes), describes this pair as a younger witch using a crippled devil with his crutch for a ride. The point is the use and abuse of the devil. Pl. 67 *Aguarda que te unten* (Wait till you've been anointed) demonstrates the preparation for flight, where the others send off the unsuspecting fool clearing the way for the lovers (adulterous couple). The problem is that the fool is too important as he is so caught up in his desires and affairs. In pl. 68 *Linda maestra!* (Pretty Teacher!) flight is metaphorical for instruction, pointing to elevated thought, witchcraft and even self-pleasure. There are acquired attitudes in fulfilling one's own desires. Pl. 69 *Sopla* (To blow), is more enigmatic, though the Prado commentary points to the preparation of a feast, in part due to the large number of children captured the night before. In this light, the print makes sense as

the child with flatulence is used as a bellows and the other diabolical preparations, such as the way one figure is blowing up another child to help fan the fires. In other words, the witches are using the object of their desire to fuel that desire. The next print, pl. 70, *Devota profesión* (Devout profession), serves as the conclusion which cites the unholy vows. The commentary for this print lists the main activities of the preceding prints and ties unifies the text and images.



Pl. 71, *Si amaneco; nos Vamos.*



Pl. 72, *No te escarparás.*



Pl. 73, *Mejor es holgar.*



Pl. 74, *No grites, tonta.*



Pl. 75, *¿No hay quien nos desate?*



Pl. 76, *¿Está U-m.d...pues, Como digo..eh! Cuidado! si no!*

Part 17: *Actions (choices) and Consequences.* Madness here is in degrees of actions and responses to situations. These prints are some of the examples of what happens to a person when they make poor judgments. With the end of the gathering in pl. 71, *Si amaneco; nos Vamos* (When day breaks we will be off), it is revealed that one's presence is irrelevant. In pl. 72 *No te escarparás* (You will not escape) the young woman's feigned gesture of shock and fear is an insincere action of protesting too much. Her reaction to the goblins is coy and ridiculous. The ill-advised choices of wishing for what is out of reach is featured in pl. 73 *Mejor es holgar* (It is

better to be lazy). In the case of pl. 74, *No grites, tonta* (Don't scream, stupid), the sense of (moral) outrage or being taken by surprise seems feigned. The posture of the figure appears to be staged in a theatrical pantomime of fear. In pl. 75, *¿No hay quien nos desate?* (Can't anyone untie us?), the results from hasty, or ill-considered, union are the claustrophobic struggles caused by forced marriage where neither are happy. The supposedly bold figure in pl. 76 *¿Está U~m.d...pues, Como digo..eh! Cuidado! si no!* (You Understand?...Well, As I Say...Eh! Look Out! Otherwise...) is acting more than what he is, abusing power or office, and in general is inadequate and inarticulate. The irrationality of the randomness in pl. 77 *Unos á otros* (What one does to another) heightens the instability and cruelty.



Pl. 78, *Despacha, que dispiértan*



Pl. 79, *Nadie nos ha visto*



Pl. 80, *Ya es hora*

Part 18: *The moral and conclusion.* The moral with two questions poses the question in the commentary of what is good and what is evil. Pl. 78 *Despacha, que dispiértan* (Be quick, they are waking up) poses question of whether the hobgoblins are evil or not, and implies because they do no harm and are helpful, they are good.³³² In pl. 79, *Nadie nos ha visto* (No one has seen us) hobgoblins enjoy drinks after the work is done as compensation for their hard work. Commentary again poses the question whether such action is good or bad. The last print, pl. 80 *Ya es hora* (It is time), is the end piece. This plate, in conjunction with the Prado commentary, shows everything winding down and the goblins are yawning, ready to disburse at dawn.

³³² By strange coincidence, these three plates, 78 through 80, are similar in concept to the fairy tale "The Shoemaker and the Elves," by the Brothers Grimm. The Grimms' tale was first published in 1812. (This fairy tale is also identified as *KHM* 39, "The Elves, First Tale.") In the fairy tale, the elves work all night to help the shoemaker prosper. When the shoemaker's wife makes them little clothes, the elves depart.

CHAPTER IV

TECHNIQUE AS A VEHICLE FOR EXPRESSION OF CONTENT

The aquatint technique is foundational to way the various subjects are presented in the *Caprichos*. To state the obvious, one could say that there would be no *Caprichos* without the content. It is equally possible to say that there would be no *Caprichos* without aquatint. The technique as well as the content shows strong similarities to Stoic thought. Goya's innovative use of aquatint is much more complex than previously acknowledged. His skill at etching has been the subject of various studies. However, there has been very little scholarship regarding which aquatint methods were used and how it was worked on the plate. The *Caprichos* are well known for their expressive quality, and the influence that played in the development of late nineteenth century art as well as the Expressionist movements in the early twentieth century.

The technique can be discussed in terms of certain issues such as the way the quality of the grain (coarse grain, fine grain, as well as more line work and less tone). The keenly judicious use of stop out, a method of applying an acid resistant material to the plate to prevent further etching, as well as scraping and burnishing, play a very important role in the development of the *Caprichos*. The process of lavis, or spit bite, allows a more painterly effect to be achieved during the etching process. The *Caprichos* show the use of the an aquatint that produces a fine pattern of resin distribution produced velvety blacks and a much wider range of tone and reticulation pattern that were unlike line etchings where the line is as important as the subject. These techniques of manipulating the tonal qualities of the aquatint are handled by Goya with a masterly feel for emphasizing the subject. Aquatint is an expressive medium. This aquatint also allows for the expression of Stoic content, specifically morals and moral psychology.

Aquatint, depending on the method of application, appears in a way that produces a flat, even texture. This allows the figures to bring the figures forward visually. In addition, the

interrelationship of the figures is then brought forward, or accentuated. In one way this has everything to do with Stoicism in how certain concepts, and the relationships of people and concepts, are highlighted. In one example, a darker aquatint serves to intensify the figures. The space inhabited by the figures is suggested and at the same time pushes the figures forward and directing attention to their interactions.

Aquatint also enables flatness in the image. This is comparable to an emotional flatness, which could be described in terms of mania and melancholy, or as a depressive state. Our word apathy, defined as the complete opposite of reason; therefore, the Stoic Greek term (*apatheia*) is not involved. In plates with strong flat, dark background can be connected with irrational and vice versa: entering the irrational, leaving behind rational. Conversely, in lighter plates, it is possible for a situation with figures which are clearly representative of irrational thoughts or actions, but irrational presents it-self as being rational—affects person as if they were rational, people are delusional.

With regard to aquatint in general, there are several options for applying the aquatint ground. Historically, during the eighteenth century, a number of different techniques were called aquatints, but in the latter half of the eighteenth century there were two methods that were considered true aquatints: the dust method and the spirit method. The following will briefly describe both methods as well as some other related techniques that may have been used as well. One of the most well-known methods is the dust method. Within this type there are the choices of using a dust box, placing the plate under a spinning tray to catch the rosin dust, or dusting the plate by hand. The latter often involves placing crushed (powdered) resin in a sock or stocking and tapping that over the plate.³³³

Another method is lavis, which is a more painterly process.³³⁴ This method is the combination of acid with just enough gum arabic, or spit, so that the acid has thickened enough

³³³ Both methods of applying the rosin dust have hazards. The stocking method has the potential to cause respiratory issues.

³³⁴ André Béguin in his book, *A Technical Dictionary of Printmaking*, noted that at times aquatint has been considered to belong to the process called lavis, or the “wash manner” (*au lavis*), at the “origin of aquatint.” Béguin also noted that lavis and aquatint are differentiated by the way the aquatint can be distinguished by its granular surface. (18)

that it will not flow over areas where the solution has not been applied. An acid solution, usually nitric acid, is brushed onto the plate.³³⁵ Again, this method involves variations of technique. The acid wash can be brushed directly on the clean (fresh) plate, a plate that has been coated with a layer of rosin, or a plate that has already been etched with aquatint. If the latter process is chosen, then the effect is reductive and will lighten the tone of the previous layer of aquatint.

A third method is a spray method. Today this can be achieved with spray paint or an airbrush to distribute a light dot pattern over the plate. An earlier technique uses an atomizer, also known as a “mouth spray.”³³⁶ The atomizer tool is still available today, though perhaps not as popular.



Fig. 4 Atomizer



Fig. 5 Rosin: small lumps and coarse grains

A fourth method is the so-called “spirit ground” method.³³⁷ In this method, rosin is dissolved in alcohol to produce a varnish like substance. As the alcohol evaporates, the rosin particles are deposited on the plate. (Although it is recommended that the plate be heated to fix the rosin to the plate, it is not necessary if the plate is allowed to “cure” for at least two hours before being placed in the acid bath.) If the plate is left to dry undisturbed on a flat surface a

³³⁵ Mena was the first to note that the acid Goya used was nitric acid. This was one type of acid frequently used by silversmiths and metalsmiths. There were other acids used for etching, notably salt acids. Another name used for the lavis technique is “spit bite.”

³³⁶ For the experiments I preformed, the following was used:

Solution for spray aquatint

2 oz. alcohol (70 % and 90% isopropyl)

1 tsp. rosin

½ tsp. black ink (Koh-I-Noor universal or Higgins)—Optional

Note: From tip of spray to plate

For even spray—approx. 36” to 42”

For irregular spray—approx. 12” to 16”

³³⁷ See André Béguin’s *A Technical Dictionary of Printmaking*, 23-25.

regular (even) pattern can be achieved. If the plate is tilted or fanned selectively, then the grain pattern is more random and is able to produce very nice reticulations reminiscent of a tusche wash in lithography. This method is more difficult because there are a number of variables that can affect the outcome. For example, humidity will determine the evaporation time. Also, if the ratio of rosin is changed, the size of the dot patterns will change.³³⁸ And if one goes to the extreme, one ends up with a varnish that will block the acid, producing no grain patterns.³³⁹

There is little written on the history of “spirit” aquatint.³⁴⁰ The main proponent of the “spirit” aquatint was Paul Sandby who began with a recipe from Peter Perez Burdett passed on to him by the Hon. Charles Greville.³⁴¹ In the course of working with aquatint, Sandby is credited with the innovation of diluting rosin in a solution of alcohol (as well as possibly being the first to use the sugar lift process.)³⁴² Sandby published a treatise on his technique, as well as disclosing his method in a letter to Patrick John McMorland in 1791.

In her article, “An Experiment to follow the Spirit Aquatint Methods of Paul Sandby,” Christine McKay documented her observations on working with Sandby’s method. Most attention is given to the question of what type of alcohol was used, and the results of her experiments. The alcohol is a crucial part of this mode of aquatint.³⁴³ McKay points to some interesting characteristics of this technique which can also be found in Goya’s *Caprichos*. One of these

³³⁸ Note: Solution for spirit aquatint—for larger and random patterns add more alcohol.

Note: Spirit aquatint solution—for even, fine dot pattern:

2 oz. alcohol

2 tsp. rosin (ground fine to medium-fine).

³³⁹ This is ironic because the “first” recipes for the spirit aquatint were said to be derived from varnish used by violin makers.

³⁴⁰ There are several general works on the history of etching that provide a good overview. These include: S. T. Prideux’s *Aquatint Engraving*, J. Adhemar’s *Graphic Art of the Eighteenth Century*, Lumsden’s *The Art of Etching*, and A. Hind’s *A History of Engraving and Etching*. Antony Griffiths’s “Notes on Early Aquatint in England and France” is a useful brief summary of innovators during the second half of the eighteenth century. There are also more recent articles by Christine McKay, Martin Hokinson, Antony Griffiths and Ann V. Gunn. On the subject of the dust aquatint, it is also of note that a treatise written by Leprince on his version of the technique was published posthumously in 1791. (Adhemar, *Graphic Art*, 179.) Leprince is given credit mainly due to his treatise and the way earlier experimenters kept their technique a closely guarded secret. Antony Griffiths noted that Leprince’s method was his own and not based on information provided by any of his predecessors. (“Notes on Early Aquatint,” 260)

³⁴¹ See Gunn and Hopkinson.

³⁴² Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking*, 94.

³⁴³ In the United States currently, one of the more readily available equivalents to the alcohol McKay determined was used is Rémy Martin’s Eau-de-Vie.

involves the reticulation, or a “tidemark” as McKay refers to it, that develops around the edges of the plate.³⁴⁴ As she notes, this could easily be remedied by varnish or a wax border, the latter being preferred by Sandby.³⁴⁵ One potential problem is in determining how long to etch any additional grounds, but McKay noted that a longer time in the acid was needed although the aquatint was then subject to faster deterioration through wear.³⁴⁶ It is difficult to determine whether Goya encountered similar issues. One possible example is pl. 35 *Le descañona* (She fleeces him) where the angled band of tone representing light from the window on the left edge of the image goes from a mid-tone in earlier editions to a much lighter tone in later editions (such as in the print in the collection of the Hite Art Institute). McKay briefly relates Sandby’s habit of aquatinting the borders of the plates and burnishing areas to create an effect similar to the “manner of contemporary wash mounted watercolors.”³⁴⁷ There is evidence in proofs and states that indicate that Goya in some plates aquatinted then burnished the borders within the *Sueños* and *Caprichos* series.



Fig. 6 Example of reticulation, “tidemark.”



Fig. 7 Coarse grain reticulation

³⁴⁴ McKay, “An Experiment,” 271. Another phenomenon is that with copper plates today, the plates must be well polished or annealed in order to prevent the grain in the rolled copper sheets from affecting the spirit aquatint. See also Campbell and Rafferty.

³⁴⁵ McKay, “An Experiment,” 271. In my experiments I used strips of ½ inch wide strips of contact paper to mask the edges.

³⁴⁶ McKay, “An Experiment,” 272.

³⁴⁷ McKay, “An Experiment,” 272.

Although there are no known records of what aquatint method Goya used, it is very likely that Goya primarily used the spirit method. Generally speaking, it is easier to achieve a flatter, more regular texture with the spirit aquatint process.³⁴⁸ This method would be better suited to Goya's technique and imagery. This allows a greater degree of flatness within the spatial quality of the composition. The lavis also allowed for a higher degree of flatness. In the *Caprichos*, Goya used lavis as well, but in a reductive manner as well as additive, in a way that also highlights flatness.

Each aquatint method produced distinct patterns, or granulations, unique to that method. The dust aquatint produces a pattern that has clearly rounded white dots where the rosin blocks the acid. The spirit aquatint produces a pattern that resembles series of channels, like netting.



Fig. 8 Detail of coarse spirit aquatint.

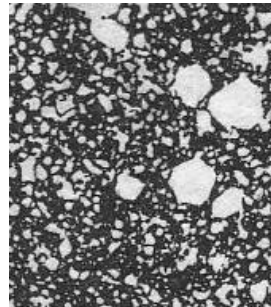


Fig. 9 Detail of coarse and fine mix rosin

Each of the *Caprichos* that is aquatinted has the same pattern, regardless of how light the etch, or how worn the plate, indicating the use of spirit aquatint. There are a few plates where a solution producing a larger dot pattern was used, such as in pl. 39 *Asta su Abuelo* (And so was his grandfather) or pl. 54 *El vergonzoso* (The shamefaced one). In several plates where more than one layer of aquatint was applied, the overlapping patterns are still faintly visible. There is also evidence that Goya used touches of lavis as a means of working reductively to bring out highlights in select prints. The main reason is that the lavis, especially when using nitric acid,

³⁴⁸ One very important observation about the spirit aquatint is that there are a number of variables, such as room temperature, humidity, and a level working surface to name a few, which can determine how successful a uniform distribution of resin granules. Also if the ratio of resin to alcohol is altered the range of possible textures is greatly increased. To a certain degree there can be some control over the type of textures achieved through the manipulation of the variables. In addition, the use of a fan or any moderate to strong movement of air can affect the distribution of resin granules on the plate.

bites quickly into the metal and can leave a sharp line between the metal etched with lavis and the surrounding metal.

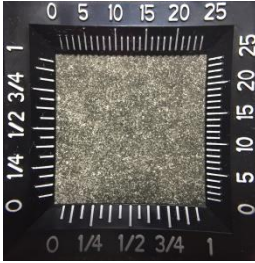


Fig. 10 Dust box detail

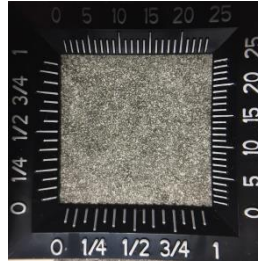


Fig. 11 Hand dust detail

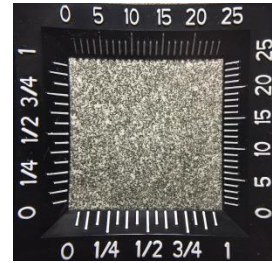


Fig. 12 spray (coarse sol.)

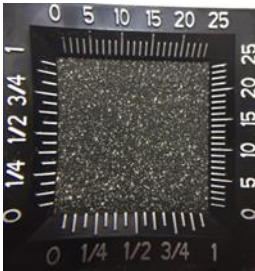


Fig. 13 spray (fine sol.)

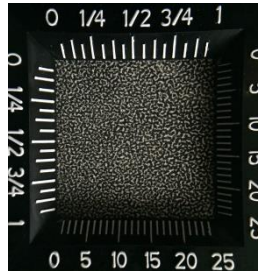


Fig. 14 Spirit aquatint

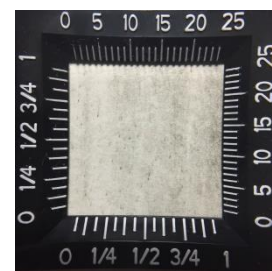


Fig. 15 lavis detail

In the scholarship that addresses the techniques employed in the *Caprichos*, there are differing views. For instance, Tomás Harris describes one method of lavis in his study of Goya's prints. Nigel Glendinning, on the other hand states that Harris makes "occasional instances" of doubtful conclusions, in particular regarding lavis. Glendinning also notes "it seems unlikely that Goya discovered lavis for himself, since his great friend Ceán Bermúdez describes it in some detail in the catalogue he made of his collection of etchings."³⁴⁹ In the catalogue of prints from his collection, "*Catálogo razonado de las estampas que poseía Dn. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez... formado por él mismo. Introducción*," Ceán Bermúdez noted "more picturesque and useful is the other method called lavis (*a la aquada*), since it imitates drawings done with pencil, Chinese ink or liquid rust."³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 227. Cf. Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelevo, Santandor, MS 245.

³⁵⁰ Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 227 and 331 n.68. Ceán Bermúdez made two catalogs of his prints: 1791 and 1819; in 1819 there are 3,616 prints counted in this last catalog. It is unclear why Glendinning

Goya appears to have incorporated a variety of techniques in his prints. In several prints there is the use of layering aquatints, as opposed to using stop-out to control the tone. This darkens the tone to be darkened and alters the patterning of the type of aquatint. For example, in pl. 29 *Esto si que es leer*, three distinct layers of aquatint were applied. The lightest area appears to have been scraped and burnished to produce the white by evidence of some scraper marks where the aquatint was not completely removed.

There is also a variety in tonal variations and blocking sequences (blocks of tone). The areas of tone are reduced to flat shapes, which are predominately placed at angles within the image. Two examples are pl. 10 *El amor y la muerte* (Love and death) and pl. 61 *Volaverunt* (They have flown). In another way, the “band” that forms the ground, seen particularly in plates 39 *Asta su Abuelo*, 40 *De que mal morira*, 42 *Tu que no puedes*, and to a lesser degree in plate 28 *Chinton*, serves to reduce the space to an abstract plane with striking effects. With regard to these tonal variations, the prints can be divided into three categories: prints with a range of tonal values achieved by aquatint, values derived from a combination of aquatint and line etching, and plates with a flat tone (allowing for perfectly even aquatint applications or an uneven aquatint).³⁵¹ In another example, pl. 18 *Ysele quema la Casa* (And his house is on fire), one can see plainly the two different aquatints, almost in a stencil effect, with highlights added by burnishing. Manipulating different methods for achieving a tone allows for more expression and enhances the subtleties of the print.

As indicated above, Goya's specific techniques can result in more linear forms. One exception may be pl. 32, *Because She Was Susceptible* (*Por que fue sensible*). The sole use of

chose to translate “*hollin desleido*” as “liquid rust” when it refers to bistre, a brown pigment mad by boiling the soot of wood and used as a liquid wash in drawings. Perhaps Glendinning was thinking of drawings and washes done with red ochre, which is also known as iron oxide. (See Mayhew, “Natural Red Chalk in Traditional Old Master Drawings.”) It is also interesting to note that Ceán Bermúdez describes a method (in the “crayon manner”) of Jean-Charles François and a tool similar to the invention of Alexis Magny but disregards the technique of Jean-Baptiste Leprince and Paul Sandby of which Ceán Bermúdez would have been aware. See also Carrette Parrondo, Juan. “Personajes de la bibiofilia española: Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, historiador del arte del grabado y coleccionista de estampas,” 64-65.

³⁵¹ Tonal: 23 prints (plates 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 28, 30, 35, 38, 42*, 43, 44, 48, 50, 51, 54, 58, 59, 61, 62 (barely visible), 67, 75)s.

Minimal tonal (aqua and line etch): 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 16, 22, 60, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70 = 14 prints.

Flat: 43 prints (plates 4, 9, 14, 17*, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26*, 27, 29*, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 64, 71*, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80).

aquatint gives this print a more fluid, “painterly” effect.³⁵² The figure is confined in a cell. The space immediately surrounding the figures is a mass of greys. The illumination of the single lantern seems insufficient to light the area in such a way. In addition, the figure itself seems to both radiate light and dissolve into space.

One curious point is that the larger number of darker images in the first half of the series which seems contrary to logic since one would expect that the fantastic scenes and witches would be darker, more menacing. It has been suggested by several scholars, including Harris and Sayre, that the “witchcraft” prints are etches with minimal tonal variations and no use of aquatint, that these were etched first.³⁵³ While this is an interesting line of thought, and the amount of acid and other supplies purchased during the time when Goya was most interested in witchcraft as part of his imagery, this is more significant through the concept of psychology. One example is pl. 65 *Donde va mama?* (Where is mother going?), although one of the plates on witchcraft, it is also a comment on the human condition. The turmoil represents the inner connectedness of the lesser figures represented in the way they intertwine around the mother figure. The “mother” is independent but oblivious, and because she is oblivious is dependent on others to support her. As briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, Goya was interested in people and their actions, with his sketchbook documenting his observations and analyses.³⁵⁴ One possibility is that the witchcraft prints have less tonal variations in order to align with a more unconscious realm.

The tone of the aquatint, in prints with large areas of flat texture, can also be associated with emotional flatness, such as melancholy or depression. Pl. 32 *Por que fue sensible* (Because she was sensible) and pl. 34 *Las rinde el Sueño* (Sleep overcomes them) are two examples of this correlation of dark flat background and the figures’s fragile state of mind. For another

³⁵² The plate did not wear well and there was significant deterioration of the aquatint from the first edition and later editions. The print of this plate in the collection of the Hite Art Institute is one in which the aquatint is badly worn.

³⁵³ The main problem with this is that not all of the witchcraft prints are line etching with no aquatint. There are several *maja* prints that are similarly lighter in tone and have little if any aquatint work. The scenes of witchcraft are plates 60, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, and 70.

³⁵⁴ The Stoics had their own version of psychology which had been said to be in line with modern psychology.

example, although the young women in pl. 36 *Mala Noche* (A bad night) are having to contend with inclement weather, the dark ominous sky could represent their emotional state concerning their circumstances, why they are out in the elements.

The layering of aquatints and the using reductive methods, such as scraping and burnishing or lavis, give the plates have an overall flatness, or broadness, with select areas of modelling. The result is a sense that the dark space is viewed as being tactile and sculptural, even linear. Whereas the light space is more open and unified. In essence, the definitions of space in the *Caprichos* are defined by tone as well as texture. For example, in pl. 35 *Le descañona* (She fleeces him), the use of different tones achieves a flattening of space. The angular shape suggesting illumination from the window is a smoother texture, which degraded during the printing of additional plates sometime in the nineteenth century, and the darker etch of the wall in the background act together to visually compress the space so that the side wall and the back wall appear to be one continuous wall.³⁵⁵ The result is that the filtered light and the dark wall alternately advance and recede relative to each other, much in a way that resembles Hans Hoffmann's concept of push and pull.

The term, "push and pull," was used by Hofmann to "designate the simultaneous operation of flatness and depth."³⁵⁶ This concept centers on tension and can be seen in the *Caprichos* and Stoic thought alike. In terms of Stoicism, the constant evaluating and re-evaluating of impressions and making judgments is one type of push and pull. The rational versus irrational conflict is another. The texts (titles) and the images of each print creates its own

³⁵⁵ The tone of this print is a little puzzling in that it looks like the following process was used. A ground of spirit aquatint was applied to the plate and put in the acid bath. The plate was removed from the acid and the area representing the window in the upper left and the figures were stopped out. The plate was then returned to the acid. What is uncertain to me is what happened when the plate was removed from the acid a second time. One of two possibilities is most likely. Either a second aquatint ground was applied to the cleaned plate and etched, stopped out, and etched again. The other possibility the lavis method was used with the acid applied to the area representing the filtered light, followed by rinsing the plate and another application of acid applied to the area representing the window frame. Given the way this area of the print degraded over time, it seems more likely that the lavis was used since it would "flatten" the first layer of aquatint, making the etched texture shallower and more susceptible to wear. The darker line between "filtered light" and the wall was created by the overlap of aquatint layers.

³⁵⁶ Seitz, *Hans Hofmann*, 27. See also Hans Hofmann's article "Hofmann on Art. New Hopkins Center at Dartmouth" *Art Journal*, vol. 22, no. 3 (Spring, 1963): 180, 182. This article displays some striking similarities to Goya's Address to the Academy and Stoic thought.

tension with contrasts in meaning and understanding. Within the images themselves, the aquatint, particularly the flatness as opposed to the coarser texture, creates a push-pull effect.³⁵⁷ The flat, even texture of the finer grain, brings figures forward visually. This highlights the interrelationships of the figures, revealing the emotional states. The darker aquatint also intensifies the figure. One example is in pl. 31 *Ruega por ella* (She prays for her), where the stark lightness of the *maja*-prostitute figure advances, while the maid is merging with the cavernous shadows of the room.³⁵⁸

In short, Goya was using a relatively new technique in a manner that was completely original. Unlike others who used a variety of techniques under the heading of aquatint as a means of replicating other methods of art, such as chalk drawings and watercolors, Goya's version of the technique was an extension of his usual manner of working. It was flexible. The aquatint, as used by Goya, is useful in defining the formal qualities as well as the mood of the print. It allowed for more depth and movement in regard to the composition and the subject.

³⁵⁷ Another aspect of the push and pull is in terms of color. Close observation of the first edition prints in the collection of the Norton Simon Museum (See Wilson-Bareau) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art reveals some plates were printed in two tones: sepia ink and a cooler black ink. See plates 42, 34, 35 and 32. See the Metropolitan Museum's website (<https://metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/370575>) for an example of pl. 42.

³⁵⁸ One could argue that the tone of each figure identifies the stage of each figure in the course of her profession. The light tone represents the dominant *maja* in her prime. The mid-tone of the Celestina suggests one who has advanced to a different role, no longer able to work but able to advise and manage. The maid in the shadows may not be plying the trade yet, but it seems inevitable that she will.

CHAPTER V

GEOMETRY AND COMPOSITION

Geometry is a basic part of liberal education. In different schools of philosophy, there are differences in the emphasis placed on the importance of geometry. For example, Seneca wrote that “when we come to investigate natural questions, we rely on evidence from geometry; so, being of assistance to philosophy, geometry must also be a part of philosophy.”³⁵⁹ In that same letter, Seneca writes of the role of geometry in “liberal studies” and the potential for the dishonest person to use geometry for evil, specifically for the purposes of greed.³⁶⁰ Goya, in his submission to the Academy in 1792, is equally plain in his views on the role geometry should play in Academies of Art. Goya wrote:

“There should be no fixed periods for studying Geometry or Perspective in order to overcome the difficulties of drawing. Those who have the talent and inclination will be forced to learn these things by drawing itself when the time is right. The more advanced in drawing students are, the easier it will be for them to acquire the skills they need for other branches of art, as the example of outstanding draughtsmen show—they are too well known to need quoting.”³⁶¹

Indirectly Goya’s thoughts on geometry in the Academy appear to be similar to Seneca’s in that it is a beneficial skill and best learned and practiced in the act of drawing. Theory is good, but firsthand knowledge gained in practice is better.

In ancient geometry, the focus is on the position of objects in relation to each other. In Stoic thought geometry was used in that manner as well as to define time and space and in their theory of cosmology. With regard to the *Caprichos*, there is a similarity between Stoic thought and the geometric form at the basis of the figures in the prints. This form relates to the

³⁵⁹ Seneca, *Letters*, Ep. 88, 314.

³⁶⁰ Seneca, *Letters*, Ep. 88, 309 and 313. Elsewhere Seneca relegated the study of geometry for children only. (313) Cf. *Capricho* pl. 34.

³⁶¹ Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics*, 45.

character of the individual and their relationship to people and the worlds around them. This geometric formulation presents a kind of diagram mapping the inter-personal relationships at a particular time and space.³⁶²

The subject of geometry is relevant to the *Caprichos*, and to the Stoics, in other ways. Although the Stoics primarily included geometry with other mathematical concepts in their physics, they also used geometry as part of their discussions on time and space.³⁶³ In Goya's *Caprichos*, geometry can be used to classify figures as well as to describe their position within the image.

In his *Lives of the Philosophers*, Diogenes Laertius mentions the senses and describes them as follows:

“They count with parts of the soul: the five senses, the generative power in us, our power of speech, and that of reasoning. They hold that we see when the light between the visual organ and the object stretches in the form of cone: so Chrysippus in the second book of his *Physics* and Apollodorus. The apex of the cone in the air is at the eye, the base at the object seen. Thus the thing seen is reported to us by the medium of the air stretching out towards it, as if by a stick.

We hear when the air between the sonant body and the organ of hearing suffers concussion, a vibration that spreads spherically and then forms waves and strikes upon the ears, just as the water in a reservoir forms wavy circles when a stone is thrown into it. Sleep is caused, they say, by the slackening of the tension in our senses, which affects the ruling part of the soul.”³⁶⁴

In this passage, Diogenes uses the terminology of geometry to describe the acts of seeing and hearing, for example the concentric circles associated with sound, as well as suggesting a geometric relationship to the mind in the state of sleep. Goya in a similar way introduces a topic then expounds on the subject in different ways (broad, specific, etc.) which are similar to the concentric circles Diogenes mentioned.

The geometry can function as a symbol or as the representation of some particular thing or concept. For example, in his *Meditations* Marcus Aurelius uses the sphere to represent the state of the soul (mind):

³⁶² The concept of space here refers more to the composition than to an actual, physical location. One reason for this is that it removes the possibility of a specific identity and allows the scene to become universal, to be determined by the viewer.

³⁶³ <https://www.rep.routledge.com/articles/thematic/stoicism/v-1/sections/space-and-time-1>

³⁶⁴ DL, *Lives*, vii, 157-158. Pages 261-263.

11.12 “The soul as a sphere in equilibrium: not grasping at things beyond it or retreating inward. Not fragmenting outward, not sinking back on itself, but ablaze with light and looking at the truth, without and within.”³⁶⁵

12.3 “If you can cut free of impressions that cling to the mind, free of the future and the past—can make yourself, as Empedocles says, “ a sphere rejoicing in its perfect stillness,” and concentrate on living what can be lived (which means the present)...then you can spend the time you have left in tranquility. And in kindness. And at peace with the spirit within you.”³⁶⁶

In the *Caprichos*, Goya utilizes spheres (albeit sometimes imperfect spheres) to present reason and irrationality. One example is pl.34 *Las rinde el Sueño* (Sleep overcomes them). Here the huddled figures of the women form imperfect spheres. They are locked in stillness and there is a suggested tension. The forces within the individuals and among the group imply irrationality. Their environment reinforces this in the way the bars are starkly contrasted with the illuminated arch (partial sphere) of the doorway. This gives the effect of barring the light, which is associated with reason.



Pl. 34 *Las rinde el Sueño*



Fig. 16 Diagram of pl. 34.

It is possible to associate geometry with appearances in a social context. As such geometry could function similarly to semiotics, to visually expound a narrative. For example, the *majas* shape is predominantly triangular, especially in the first half, and either triangular or oblong in the second half indicating the *maja* is driven by some form of madness. (The triangle then is the signifier and the *maja* the signified.) In terms of composition the forms are treated differently

³⁶⁵ Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 11.12, 151.

³⁶⁶ Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 12.3, 162.

in the first half and the second half. Forms tend to orient toward the ground or ground-line in the first half. This presents a more stable structure even if the relationships are off kilter. In the second half, there is a tendency for figures to hover or float in space which indicates a less rational situation.

The Stoic thoughts on cosmopolitanism may also relate to the issue of geometry and composition. Particularly relevant is the work of Hierocles (of the early Roman imperial period). Although only fragments of his work are extant, there are thoughts that discuss his views of cosmopolitanism in geometric terms.³⁶⁷ In his view, Hierocles describes everything existing in concentric circles. The order from this innermost circle to the outer circle is the mind (individual), family, extended family, community, country and race. The size of each circle is variable. The task is to draw people in to the center, making all people part our concern. This conceptualization translates in art to the composition and the placement of the figures in relation to one another. In the *Caprichos*, one or two figures are at the visual center of the image (even if that is not the exact center of the physical print) and the other figures are grouped around them in degrees and poses that suggest their emotion or psychological relationships. In addition the idea of whether the central figure is centered or off-center also correlates to the tension between the rational and irrational.

The possibility of a connection between geometry and psychology is alluded to in a letter written by Seneca. Letter 88 mentions geometry in several different manners, two of which are key concepts. From these passages, it is possible to determine that Seneca felt that geometry as a basic foundational tool in education and as such is useful to philosophy, especially concerning (moral) psychology. The first part describes how to ascertain the shape of something.³⁶⁸ But it cannot tell the nature of that figure or shape.

¹⁰ The geometrician teaches me to figure the size of a plantation, but he doesn't teach me what quantity of wealth is sufficient for a human being. He teaches me to do computations, adapting my fingers to the purposes of greed; but he doesn't teach me that such computations are beside the point, that it doesn't make one any happier to have accountants wearing themselves out over one's income—indeed, that a man who would

³⁶⁷ Hierocles's fragments were preserved by Stoebeus (*Florilegium*, 4.671ff). See also Ilarina Ramelli's work *Hierocles the Stoic*.

³⁶⁸ Seneca, *Letters* 88.10-12, 311.

find it a misfortune to have to compute his own net worth possesses nothing but superfluities. ¹¹ How does it help me to know how to divide up a field if I don't know how to divide it with my brother? How does it help me to figure out the precise size of a garden plot down to the tenth part of a foot if it upsets me that my unruly neighbor is shaving a little off my land? He teaches me how to keep from losing that strip near my property line, but what I want to know is how to lose all my property and yet remain cheerful. ... ¹³ You know how to measure curved shapes; you can make any figures you are given into a square; you can tell the distances between stars; there is in fact nothing you cannot measure. If you are such a skilled technician, measure the human mind! Tell how great it is—how puny it is. You know whether a line is at a right angle: what use is that to you if you do not know what is right in life?" ... ²⁰ For even the skills that consist in manual dexterity, which admit openly to their low status, furnish us with many of life's basic needs; yet they bear no relation to virtue. "Why, then, do we train our children in the liberal arts?" Not because they can ever impart virtue, but because they prepare the mind to receive virtue. ...³⁶⁹

In 88.24-25, geometry is considered a useful part of philosophy. Geometry, as Seneca writes, provides a service. It provides evidence.

²⁴ One might say, "Philosophy has several parts: the study of nature is one, ethics is another, and logic is another. In the same way, the whole troop of liberal studies claims a place for itself within philosophy. When we come to investigate natural questions, we rely on evidence from geometry; so, being of assistance to philosophy, geometry must also be a part of philosophy." ²⁵ There are many things that assist us without being part of us; indeed, if they were part of us, they would not be of assistance. Geometry does us a service; it is necessary to philosophy in the same way as the instrument maker is necessary to geometry itself. The latter is not part of geometry, and neither is geometry a part of philosophy. ²⁶ Moreover, each of them has its own defined subject matter: the philosopher investigates and gains knowledge of natural phenomena, while the geometer collects figures and measurements and does calculations based on them. The rationale behind celestial phenomena, their efficacy and their nature: these are knowledge for the philosopher; their orbits, epicycles, and certain apparent movements in which they shift upward or downward to seem to stand still when in fact no heavenly body can stand still: these are problems for the mathematical astronomer. ²⁷ The philosopher knows the reason for the images seen in mirrors; the geometer can tell you how far the object must be from its image and what shape of mirror produces images of a certain kind. ...³⁷⁰

Another way of considering these excerpts is that Seneca may also mean that geometry can be applied to the mind, as a psychological tool, to study the shape and relation of thoughts and emotions.

³⁶⁹ Seneca, *Letters* 88.10-20, 309-18.

³⁷⁰ Seneca. *Letters* 88.24-27, 309-18.

In Stoic logic, even in their rhetoric, thoughts can be reduced to formulae through syllogisms.³⁷¹ One example is as follows:

If the first, then the second.	$p \rightarrow q$	If it is day, then it is light.
The first.	p	It is day.
Therefore the second.	q	Therefore it is light. ³⁷²

So would it not be possible to theorize that aspects of geometry could be used to study emotion and human interactions? If the scenes in the *Caprichos* are representative of real events, then it might be possible to use such imagery as a proxy in order to study emotions and quantify reactions. For example, in pl. 32 *Por que fue sensible* (Because she was susceptible), the solitary figure is sitting in a dark space, presumably a cell, with only a single lantern. The woman's clasped hands are one of two points that draw the viewer's eye. The second point is the woman's head, in stark contrast with her surroundings as lolling forward, with a slack expression of despair (melancholia). These two points, both expressing the same emotion, are visually connected in a line by her extended arms and upper torso, all of which are the same bright, flat tone. The external point, the single lantern that illuminates only the woman, can be interpreted as a symbol of hope (light) that is also bound to fear (dark). Seneca, quoting Hecaton the Stoic, wrote that "you will cease to fear...if you cease to hope."³⁷³

"⁷ But let me share with you the little profit I made today as well. In the writing of our own Hecaton I find it said that limiting one's desires is beneficial also as a remedy for fear. 'You will cease to fear,' he says, 'if you cease to hope.'"

'The two feelings are very different,' you say. 'How is it that they occur together?' But it is so, dear Lucilius: although they seem opposed, they are connected. Just as the prisoner and the greed are bound to each other by the same chain, so these two that are so different nonetheless go along together: where hope goes, fear follows. ⁸ Nor do I find it surprising that it should be so. Both belong to the mind that is in suspense, that is worried by its expectation of what is to come. The principal cause of both is that we do not adapt ourselves to the present by direct our thoughts toward things for in the future. Thus foresight, which is the greatest good belonging to the human condition, has become an evil. ..."³⁷⁴

In her current, rigid position it is clear that the woman has not ceased to hope nor to fear.

³⁷¹ This aspect of Stoic logic is similar to the modern field of symbolic logic or propositional calculus. See Benson Mates, *Stoic Logic*. See also Green and Groff, *Early Psychological Thought*, 98-99,

³⁷² See Benson Mates, *Stoic Logic*, for this and related examples.

³⁷³ Seneca, *Letters* 6.7, 32.

³⁷⁴ Seneca, *Letters* 6.7-8, 32.



Pl. 32 *Because she was susceptible.*

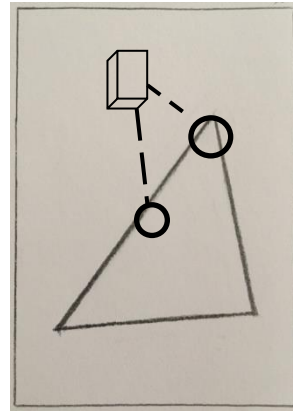


Fig. 17 Diagram of plate 32.

In pl. 6, *Nadie se conoce* (Nobody knows himself), the sense of a supposed lack of awareness, especially self-awareness, in the social interactions of the two figures can be reinforced through geometry. Although visually both the man bowing and the seated woman can be reduced to triangles, their interactions are better described as lines and angles. The quizzical man, bowing and leaning toward the woman, can be represented as an angle. Because of his position, this form is above and to the left of the subject of his attention. Even though the setting is public, and presumably pleasant, this man's angular presentation would be associated with dominant or aggressive behavior in his approach. The mask conceals the woman's expression and she is presented as a facade. Her seemingly relaxed seated pose is noncommittal while she is listening to the man. By extending her legs, as well as concealing her hands, the woman presents a visually elongated line to the man and prevents him from approaching too closely. Her pose is inviting yet restricting (open yet barred). This reinforces the necessity of the angle of his posture. In short the opposing angular and linear features parallel the distance and quality of this particular social interaction.



Pl. 6 *Nobody knows himself.*

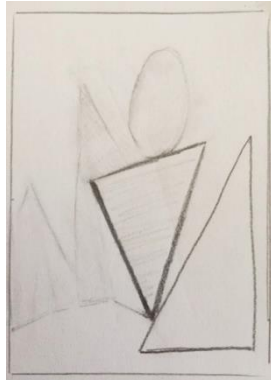


Fig. 18 Geometric Diagram of plate 6.

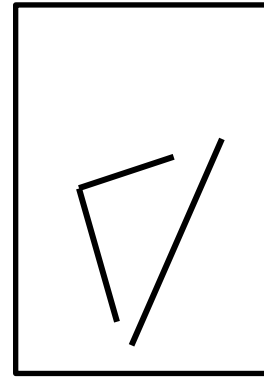


Fig. 19 Diagram of figural placement in plate 6.

The possibility to express an emotional reaction to a personal situation is three dimensional terms can be seen in pl. 10 *El amor y la muerte* (Love and death). The print focuses on the emotional point in time where the man, mortally wounded in a duel, leans against his lover as he dies. The position of the man is that on an unstable triangle: his head at the top part, the arm, straight with limp hand, and the legs out straight unable to support himself. The weight of the sagging body draws the viewer's eye from his anguished expression to his feet, and subsequently to the discarded sword. The dark gown of the woman blends into the shadows and the wall leaving the focus on her face, particularly her expression, and her arms which encircle the man. Together this pair forms a three-dimensional triangle (pyramid) which stabilizes the figures (physically and in a united grief) for a moment before being overcome by other forces, such as the weight of emotions. The three-dimensional quality is enhanced by the directional lines of the woman's embrace and support and the insurmountable gravitational pull on the man. This links the figures as well as separates them.



Pl. 10 Love and death.

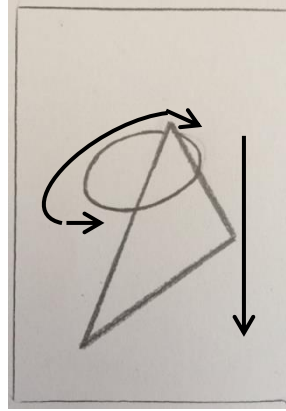


Fig. 20 Diagram of plate 10

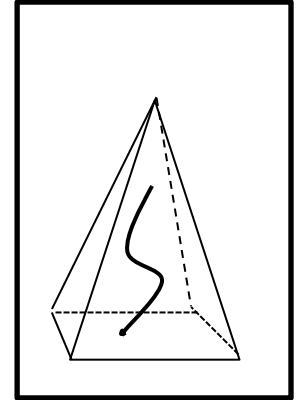
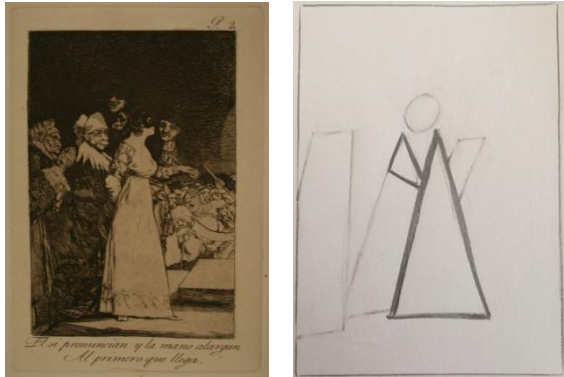
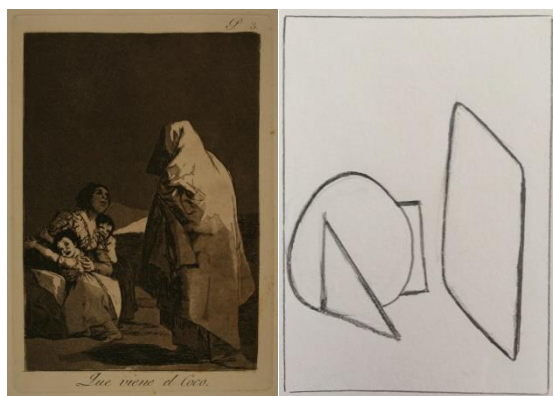


Fig. 21 Diagram after Arnheim's adaptation of Hogarth's line of beauty.


In the following section, the plates of the *Caprichos* are coupled with sketches which represent the simplified geometric forms of the principal figures in each plate. In several instances, the prominent secondary figures are also represented, although in a lighter tone. The purpose of this exercise is to demonstrate the relationships between the figures, both in issues of form and personal interactions. The geometric shapes of the figures can also be interpreted in more psychological terms, as defined by the Stoics, through the tensions between placement and geometric type. For example, in plates where the figures, or shapes, are parallel then there is greater interaction between the primary figures and where the shapes overlap there is a higher chance of conflict. And figures that are parallelograms there is greater possibility that there will be a movement towards interaction. In several plates, from both parts of the *Caprichos*, there are repetitions in the forms which relate to a specific type of character or present a unified group in opposition to another figure, or figures. There are some variations to shapes identified with certain characters. For example, the triangle is most frequently used in conjunction with the *maja*; however, a rectangle or elongated oval may also apply. In another example, the shape most associated with the Celestina is the oval. In some instances when the forms are used to identify like characters, they are more likely to be engaged in some sort of interaction with one or more of another group. This reinforces the tensions and can be indicative of more irrational behavior, or extremes in desires.

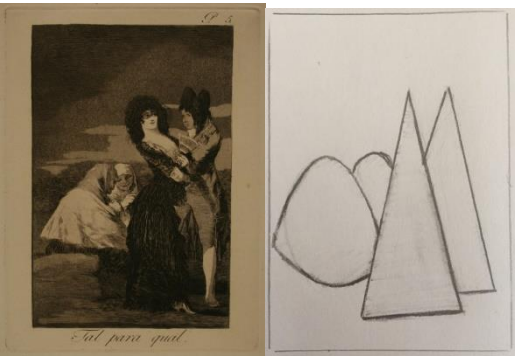
In plates with a single dominant figure, the positions of the figures seem to point to specific examples of irrationality or suppression of the rational to some degree. These plates include pl. 13 *Estan calientes* (They're hot) where the position to the lower left of center corresponds to the ordinary subject that also has a double entendre. In pl. 18 *Ysele quema la Casa* (And his house is on fire) the man is centered and is a classic example of the Stoic's "little madness." In pl. 29 *Esto si que es leer* (That certainly is being able to read) the figure is below the center and depicts an ordinary situation with unrealistic expectations. The figure to the right of center in pl. 32 *Por que fue sensible* (Because she was susceptible) shows a loss of control of desires leads to a loss of control over self, in other words imprisonment. In the lower right corner of pl. 39 *Asta su Abuelo* (And so was his grandfather), the figure is pinning his hopes or desires on the past which leads to irrational reaction to his current status, or situation. In pl. 43 *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos* (The sleep of reason produces monsters); the figure is directly below the center which can act as a symbol for the sub-conscious. Finally, in pl. 44 *Hilan delgado* (They spin finely) the figure is positioned slightly to the right of center and is performing an ordinary task with unusual materials.

	<p>Pl. 2 The young woman to be married is the centrally positioned, and is triangular in form. The figures that surround her are various shapes, which may be understood as relating to their degree of greed of their expectations for the union. The figure standing immediately behind the young woman is elevated in position due to the light tone of the headdress and collar of their garment that also reduces to a triangular which emphasizes the grotesque expression of glee. The procession as a whole presents as a linear grouping, in spite of the suggested depth of overlapping figures.</p>
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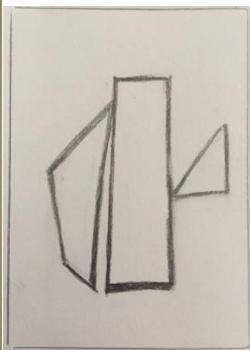
Pl. 3 In this print, the group comprised of the mother and her two children are compressed in a small portion of the image while the Bogey-man, otherwise identified as the woman's lover, is an irregular form that seems to hover in space. In contrast to the man, the mother and children are all easily reduced to regular geometric shapes. The mother is roughly the equivalent of a circle. The child in the fore of this group is triangular and the other, seemingly older child half hidden behind the mother is more rectangular. The triangle and the rectangle shapes of the children could be associated with their development. For example, the child hiding behind the mother also grounds the mother, in part preventing her from moving toward the man. The other child, in that act of trying to flee, also blocks the mother from moving. Even though the triangle is generally associated with stability, the frantic expression and the out-stretched arms suggest movement that is not very stable.

	<p>Pl. 4 In this plate, the triangle is predominant and at odds with the rectangle (parallelogram). Here again the character of the triangle is challenged by the man who is more child than grown-up. The strength of the triangle is perverted and the weight of the shape visually pulls against the momentum of the rectangular shape, thereby resisting the promptings to take control of oneself and one's responsibilities.</p>
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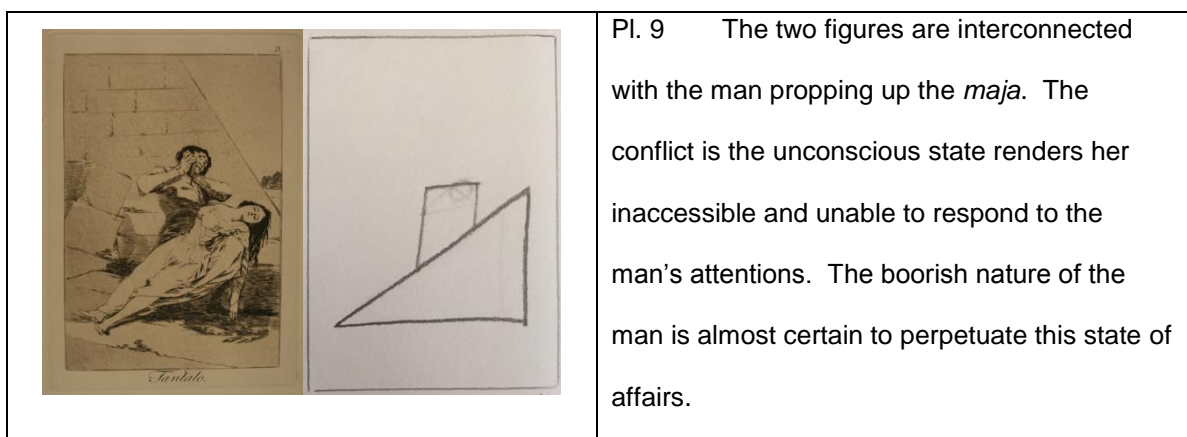
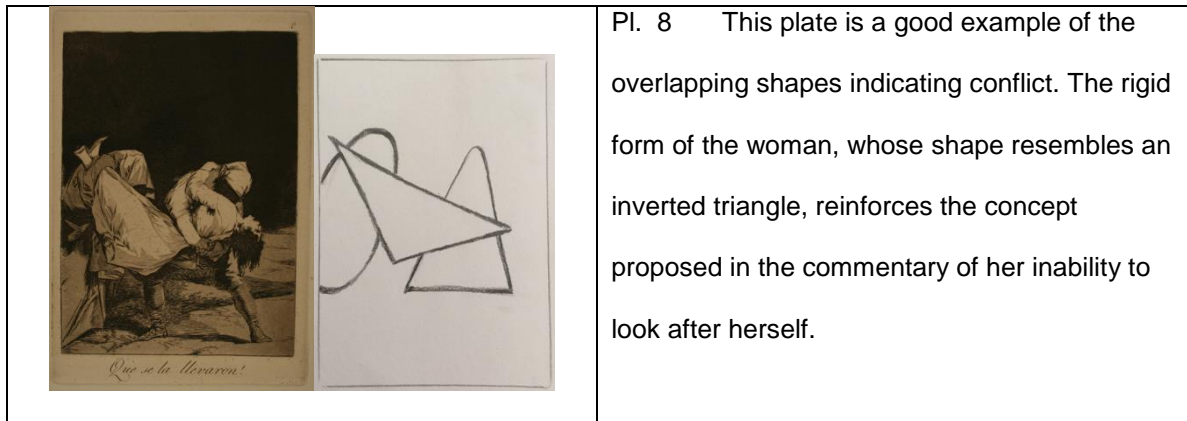
	<p>PL. 5 The two pairs of people in the print are equally matched. The figures are repetitions of both form and type. The women in the background, who would be triangular if not stooped with age and life experiences, are an irregular oval shape. The young man and woman, in their self-assured wide stances, are present a form that is more triangular. Their confidence and sense of self- worth add to the illusion of stability. In short, they are equal.</p>
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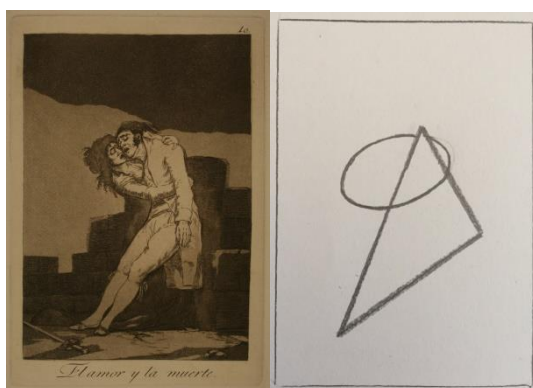


PL. 6 Of the primary and secondary figures in this plate, all are regular geometric shapes. Although the young woman and the man who bows to her assume triangular poses, the shapes are in tilted and off-center. Even though the woman is a solid isosceles triangle, the highlight on the unmasked part of her face and on her crossed feet emphasizes those points leaving the focal points skewed. The man and woman also create a scalene triangle on point, with the woman as one leg of the triangle and the man in a deep bow completing the other two sides of the triangle. The aspect of being off balance reinforces the theme of uncertainty.



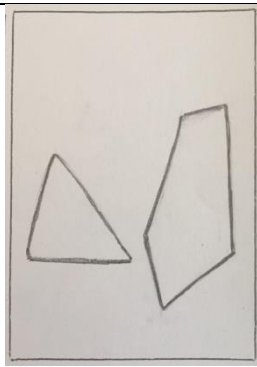
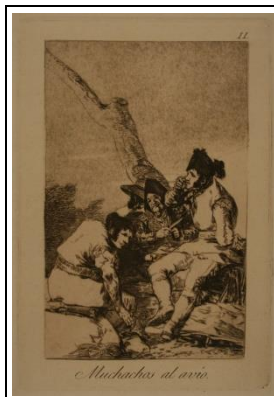
Pl. 7 The *maja*, as the central figure, visually divides the plate in two vertical parts. The figure as a columnar shape in a dark tone is most dominant. The visual weight of the *petimetre* is unbalanced, with the tilted polygram, enhancing his quizzical uncertainty. The seated *maja*, even as a secondary figure, is given prominence through the diagonals in the plate, namely the direction of the gaze, the position of the heads, and the band of light tone in the background.



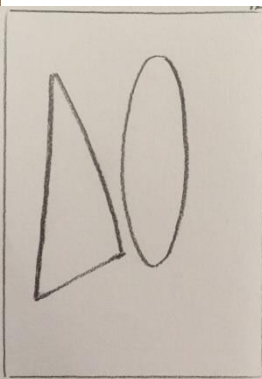
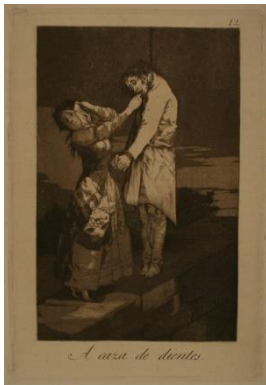


Pl. 10 The oval not only refers to the *maja*, it visually brings the two figures together in a way that is both positive and negative, that intensifies the emotion as well as the action of the man collapsing and the woman embracing, or catching, him. The triangle, at the point of intersection with the oval, concentrates the emotion and action, or reaction. The key is human interaction, much like the plays of Seneca, or even Shakespeare. It turns the visual pattern into a semantic statement on the human condition.”³⁷⁵ *Love and Death* reflects these sentiments well. The visual center, the couple, represents a tension. As the man sinks in death, the solid (almost triangular) figure of the woman pushes upward as she tries to hold the man up. Together the two figures also form a triangular unit, a symbol of strength and solidarity. However, because of the subject, or “theme,” of this print is a cautionary statement against the “barbaric” practice of dueling, the strength of the woman’s love is not enough to keep the man from sinking into his fate, death.

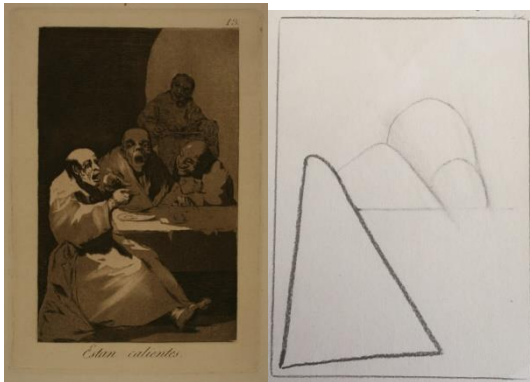
³⁷⁵ Arnheim, 153.



Pl. 11 The principle figures in this plate are framing each side of the image, anchoring the visual weight of the image at the bottom. Although the shapes are not in conflict in terms of their content, there is visual tension in their attitude and sense of anticipation.



Pl. 12 The seemingly regular shape of the woman has some curvature to the triangle. While the figures are parallel, the only interaction is drive of an irrational belief. By occupying the center of the image, the figure of the dead man is not usual as it challenges the balance of what is accepted. This in turn points to the madness of her behavior and the irrationality of such superstitions.



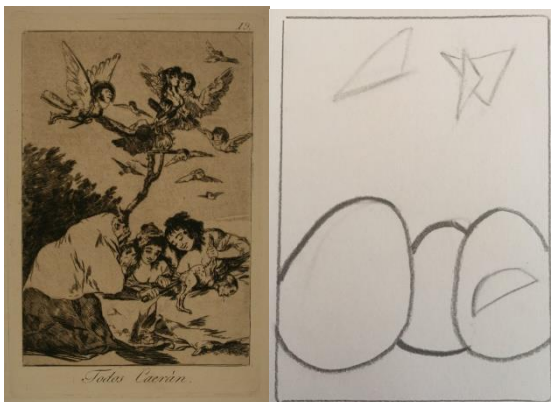
Pl. 13 The theme of unhealthy desires, whether it is luxury food items or sexual appetites, is the focus of this print. The subject is an illustration of the madness, or irrationality, which occurs when desires (passions) move to extremes due to a lack of control. The primary figure in the lower left corner, albeit in a seemingly stable position, is shown to be at odds with what is reasonable. This is achieved by the fact that, even though he is visually dominant in the print, he is furthest from the center, or the rational. The other figures are clustered around the center of the image, thought by their expressions; indicate they share the same desires in varying degrees.



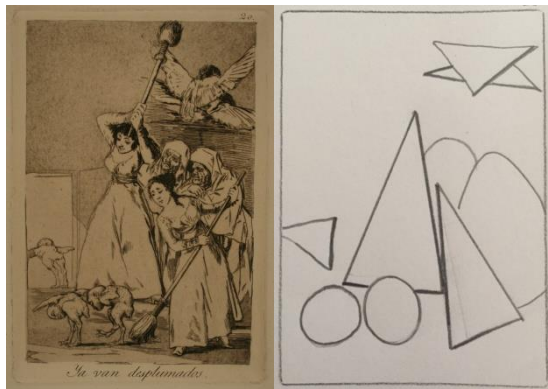
Pl. 14 The subject of ill-considered marriages and bores is visible in the way the hunchback dominates the space, leaning in to such a degree that the young woman seems to be pushed away by his leering. The figures are clustered around the center of the plate, but it is not a balanced in terms of a lack of conflict.



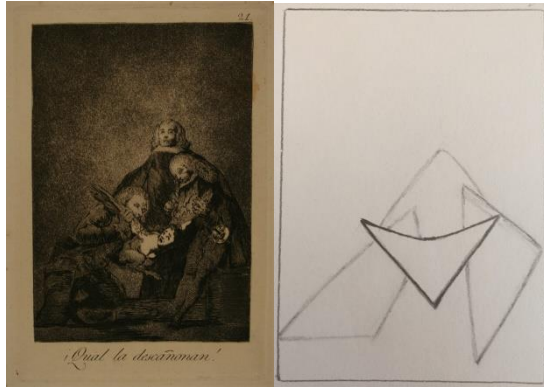
Pl. 16 The *maja* in this print, like many of the other prints in the series, can be visually associated with the triangle and visually dominant in the image. This *maja* however assumes a more expressive pose. Her posture is very erect with her weight evenly distributed on her feet. The difference is in the twisting, leaning motion from the waist upwards which gives a sense of pulling back and not being centered or balanced. The other woman, even though she is hunched over into a semi-circular shape, pushed to the edge, seems to be a mirror image to the *maja* in that she leans forward and tilts her head to look up to the *maja*. There is motion and interactions between the two figures.



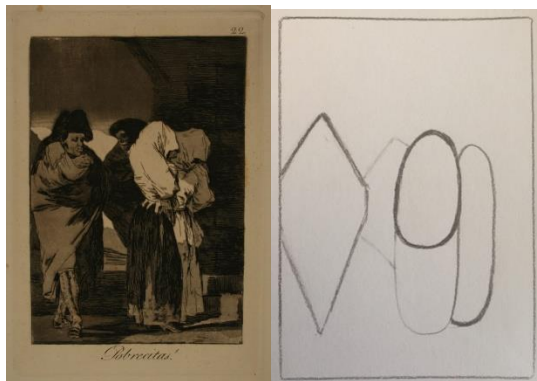
Pl. 19 This plate is almost divided into two parts visually with the upper part the precursor to the lower part. The arrangement of the figures also has two visual points of center: the upper is the decoy, positioned slightly to the right of center, and the lower is the plucking of the bird-man, the action being centered almost directly below the decoy. One point that is inverted between the two groups is the ratio of male and female figures.



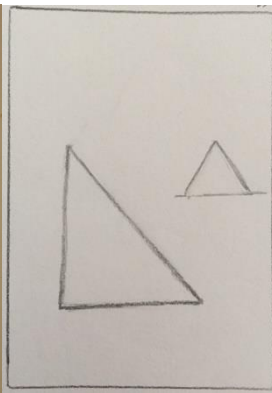
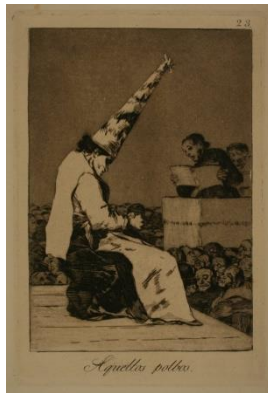
Pl. 20 As with the preceding plate, the figures are massed in a seemingly chaotic group; however, there is a progression in the subject of the plate that is both compositional and a type of classification through the shape of the figures. Beginning in the top right corner, the bird-figures are overlapping triangular forms that are explicit symbols for activities associated with that of the women standing in the prominent group. These women are themselves in a semi-circular cluster with the older Celestina characters standing slightly to the rear watching as the young women shoo their victims out the door. These victims in their acute shame are hunched over to such a degree they have a circular mass. The brooms, strong diagonals (one raised, one lowered), also direct the movement of the eye from the top right, down in a curving line, to the results. This is not unlike the spatial directions Loran uses in his discussion of Cézanne's work. All of the motion in the composition hinges around the central figure of the woman with the raised broom.



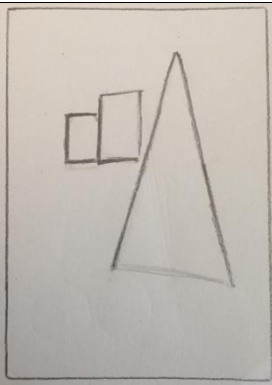
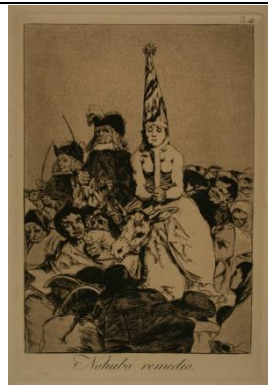
Pl. 21 The men with cat-like features, who prey on the bird-woman, are a mix of triangular and polygon shapes. In their positioning as a group, they form a larger triangular shape that is weighted in the lower portion of the plate. These figures, however, merge with the dark background. The bird-woman is an irregular shape. As the figure with the lightest tone in the group, she is the visual center of the group. The position of her head is directly below the official standing behind the group. This sets up another tension between the composition and the subject.



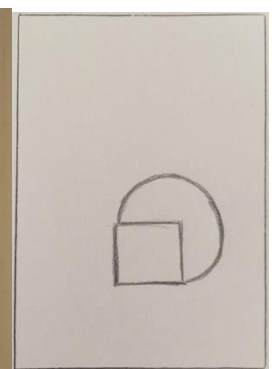
Pl. 22 The repetition of forms and association of certain shapes with particular types of characters is evident again in this print. The bailiffs, as polygons, are escorting the "tattered women," or ovals, to the reformatory. The space is flattened to the point the figures are line a line, with overlapping suggesting depth. The woman in front, second from the right, is the center which seems stationary as the others move around her. The men seem to both recede into the shadows and to emerge from them.



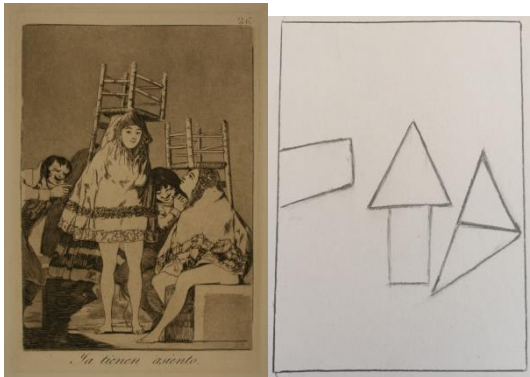
Pl. 23 The absurdity of the situation, a trial that is suggested to be unfair, is repeated in the composition through the primary figure, the woman on trial, and the secondary figure, the one reading the charges and sentence. The woman is represented in a stable position towards the lower left corner. Her position is at odds with the official, who is to the right of the center.



Pl. 24 The trial is finished, and the woman is being made a spectacle. As the center of the composition as well as the image, the woman is visually crowded, or pushed along, by the officials riding alongside.



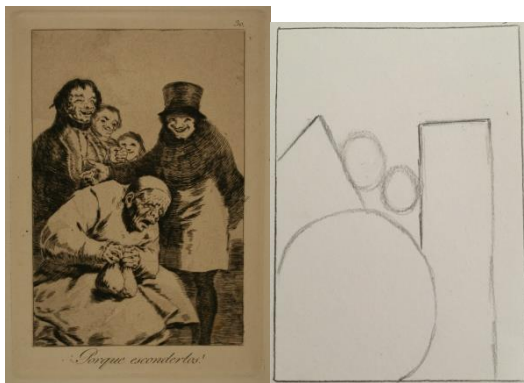
Pl. 25 The boy, twisted into and almost square form, occupies the center with his mother slightly off to the right. The mother, kneeling and leaning forward, presents a more circular form. The way that the figures are entwined relates to the pattern of actions that are excessive or irrational given the circumstances which are likely to be perpetuated. It is very much a cycle of learned behavior.



Pl. 26 This is an unusual treatment for the figures within the first part of the *Caprichos*, which are generally less irrational in their actions and behaviors than the second half. The figures can be reduced to geometric forms as with all of the other figures. The difference comes with the way the garments are worn in a ridiculous manner and converts the forms of the young women. For example, the girl standing is altered visually from her natural rectangular form to a hybrid triangle and shorter rectangle. Also, the seated girl becomes a bisected triangle. This aspect accentuates the degree of irrationality to which the harmful desires can lead.



Pl. 27 As in pl. 7, Even Thus he cannot make her out (*Ni asi la distingue*), the *petimetre* bows to the *maja*; however, in this plate, the postures are more extreme. The bow made by the *petimetre* is deeper and while the gaze is not as quizzical it is still speculative. Although the *maja* does not seem as interested, she is suggested to be no less calculating. The other figures are more spectators, than a possible participant. In regard to the composition, it is the reverse of the other plate mentioned. The *maja* is still the central form, but the *petimetre* is on the *maja*'s left now, before the *petimetre* was on her right.

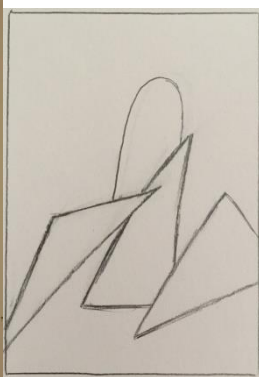


Pl. 30 The interpersonal conflict is a dominant theme in this plate. The conflict is both on a personal level and a social one. The miser, or perhaps more specifically, his money bags, are the center of focus in the image, as opposed to the actual center of the image. As the eye moves out from this center, the different layers of greed as well as the different degrees of harassment or curiosity spread and diffuse. These outer figures are then represented by various forms.



Pl. 31 The *maja*, here presumably a prostitute, is accompanied by Celestine, what time will make of the young woman. The maid, who is presumably not yet indoctrinated but will inevitably become so, is the peasant equivalent of the *maja*.

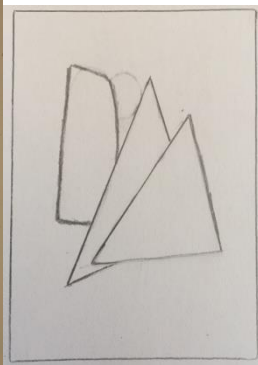
In terms of the composition, the principle of the center and the concentric circles which expand to include other elements within the image is applicable here. The center of focus is the knee and leg where the stockings are stretched. The next circle encompasses the Celestine. The third expansion is the seated young woman. Her gaze which directly engages the viewer, widens the circle in a more three dimensional manner and opens up the sense of space even though the depth of space in the image is very shallow. The final circle is the young woman standing, and it is her gaze that brings the focus back to the *maja*.



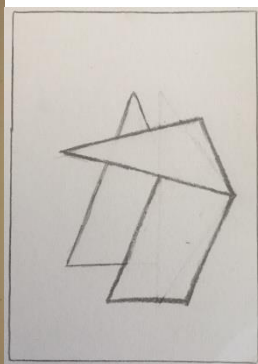
Pl. 33 The fools who trust the charlatan are of a similar form. The repetitions of shapes, which move in a manner similar to concentric circles, are triangular. The three fools, each reduce to a triangle, are positioned in the lower portion of the plate in a triangular pattern. Add the oval of the charlatan and the group expands to a larger triangle with a slight shift in focus.



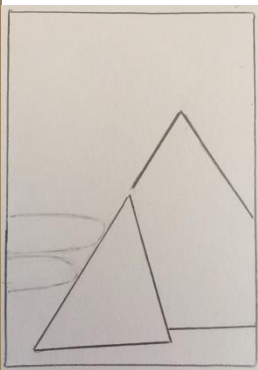
Pl. 34 The woman, sitting on an elevated position, more in shadow than the others, is both the visual and actual center of the image. However, the women in the foreground, either seated or reclining, are the dominant visual element based on tonal qualities. The grid of the prison door draws the eye to the back of the cell suggesting depth in a flat plane. The tension between the central figure, the center of the image, and the visually dominant elements increase the conflict between their reality in their conscious state and the release offered by sleep.



Pl. 35 There is again a repetition of form; however, the form is shared between two separate types. This reinforces the commentary which suggests the man is a willing victim. The cape draped over the man looks suspiciously like a petticoat, and by “dressing” him in this lace trimmed covering, it serves to alter his status or type.



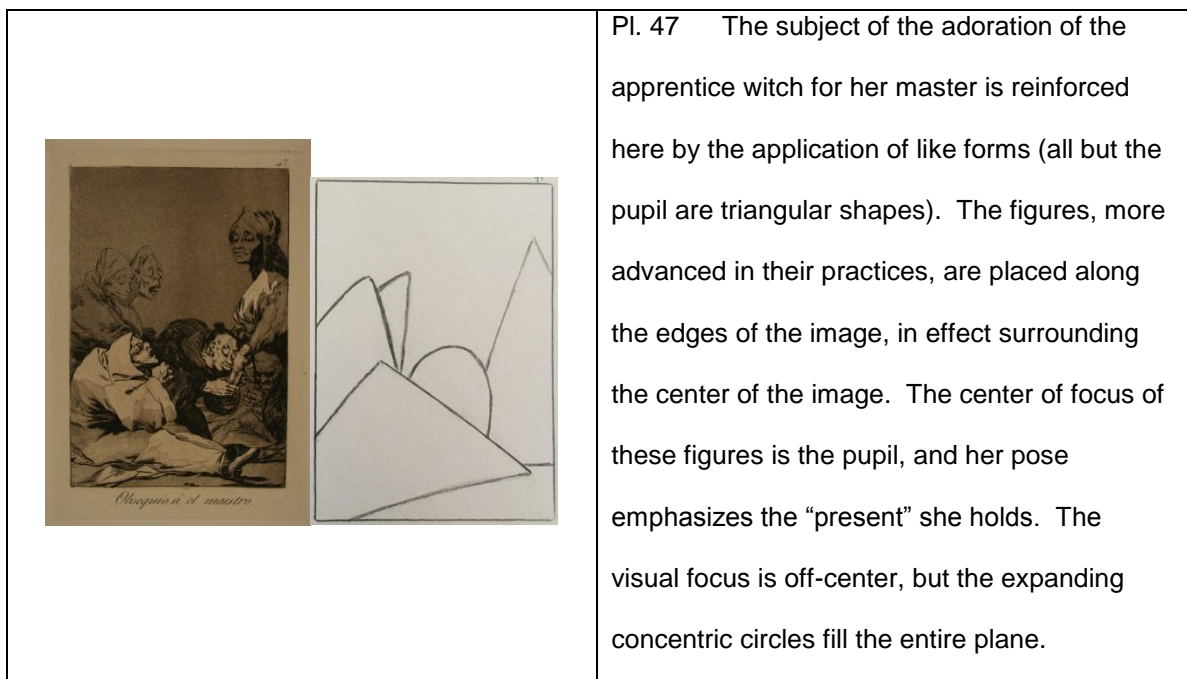
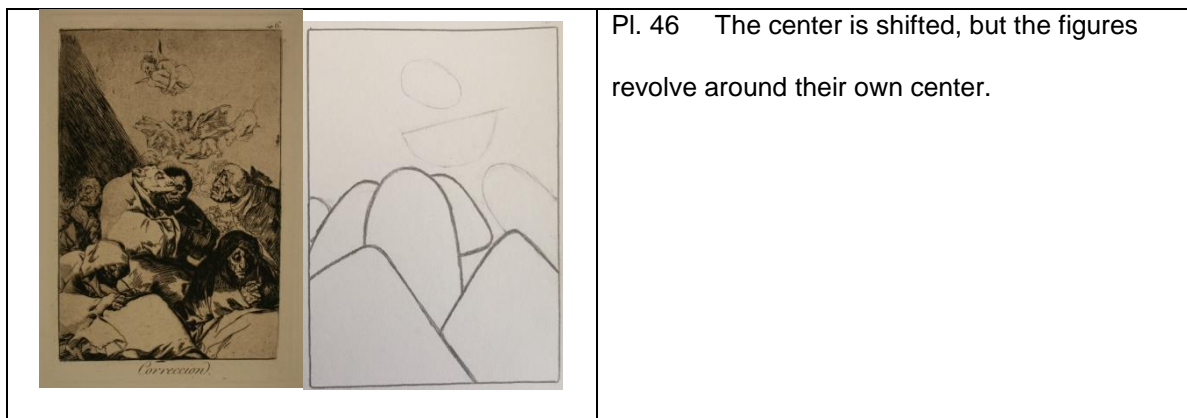
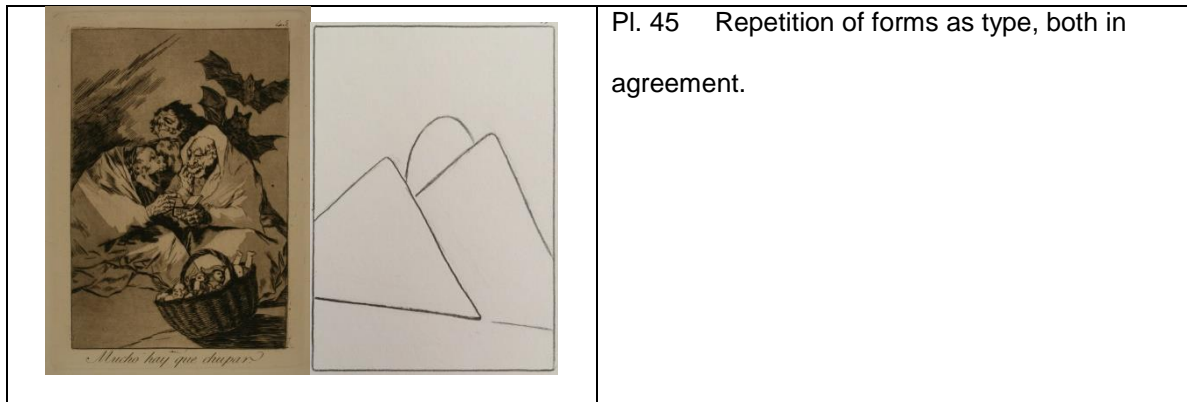
Pl. 36 The chaos in the imagery is repeated in the disruption, or alteration, of the forms. In more normal circumstances the forms would mirror each other. In this situation, however, one figure is affected (altered) more than the other. The upheaval and uncontrollable garments enhance the loss of control.



Pl. 37 The figures in this plate are repetitions in form, each of the same type, or class of character. Together the pupil and the teaching master, as the dominant figures, form a right angle triangle. As an individual the pupil is part of the larger academy yet separate. The question posed in the caption is which knows more. The answer, implied by the geometric relationships, may be that the question is irrelevant. Each has knowledge to certain extents, but when combined that knowledge is exponentially increased.

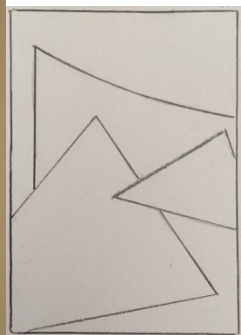


Pl. 42 This plate is one of three in which at least two pairs of nontraditional riders are on unusual mounts. (The others are plates 63 and 77.) In this example, the characters are what one would expect: two men and two donkeys. The difference is the reversal of roles. This subject of a world turned upside-down is a common one in Spanish literature. Here, though, Goya takes the concepts a step further, in the visual sense of instability and irrationality. The geometric forms present a simplified diagram of the precarious shifts in weights and balances, both in composition and subject matter.

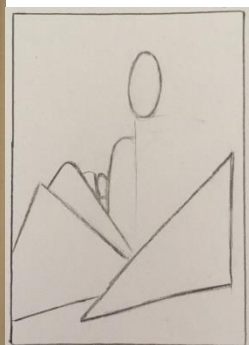




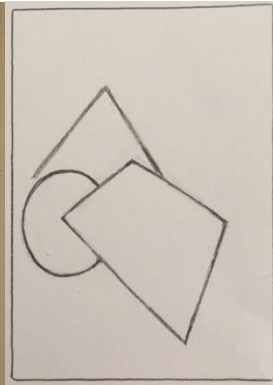
Pl. 48 The geometric form associated with the dominant figures is the same. The orientation of the figure within the space, and even the type of figure (winged witch or witch in human form), are different. The offensive actions of the winged figure are as aggressive as it is excessive.



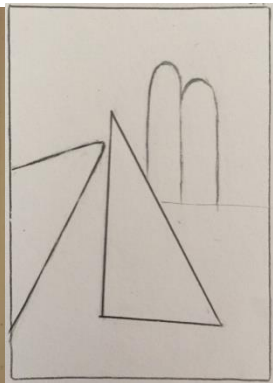
Pl. 51 In this plate, the figures are similar geometric forms that extend beyond the frame of the picture. The subject of the image is the normally good practice of maintaining personal hygiene; however, it is taken to extremes, or for irrational purposes, in this plate. The attitudes and expressions are excessive for such a mundane procedure of clipping nails, which again is characteristic of errors of judgment and valuation.



Pl. 53 The audience is composed of like forms, positioned in a circle around the parrot's perch. The parrot is the focal point, but not the center. The disconnect between the figures is emphasized through the composition in terms of the audience which visually grounds the image to the elevated position of the parrot.



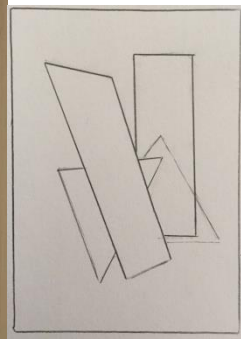
Pl. 54 The man driven by his desires, and identified by his physiognomy, is clearly depicted. The man's face in this instance is the reflection of his desires. The person who caters to his desire and the one who cheers him on are relegated secondary status. The overlap of the figures adds to the chaotic impression of irrationality being encouraged.



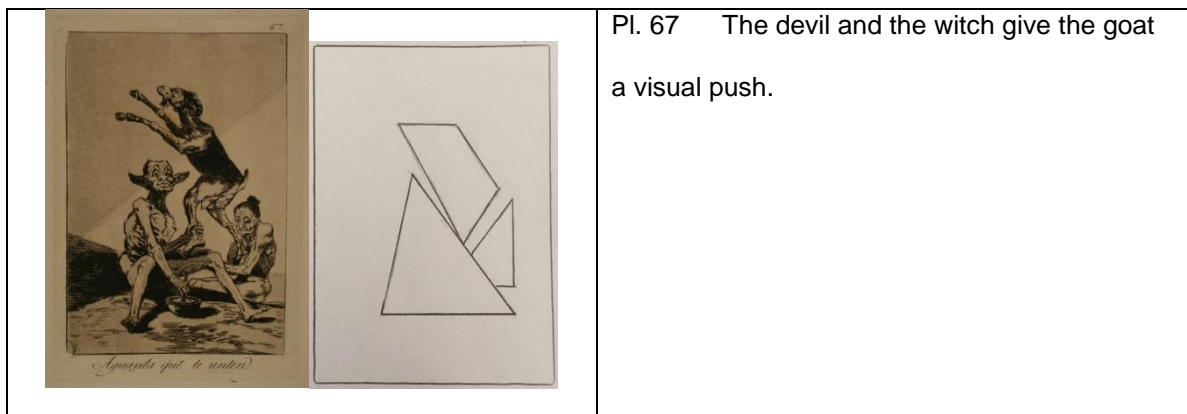
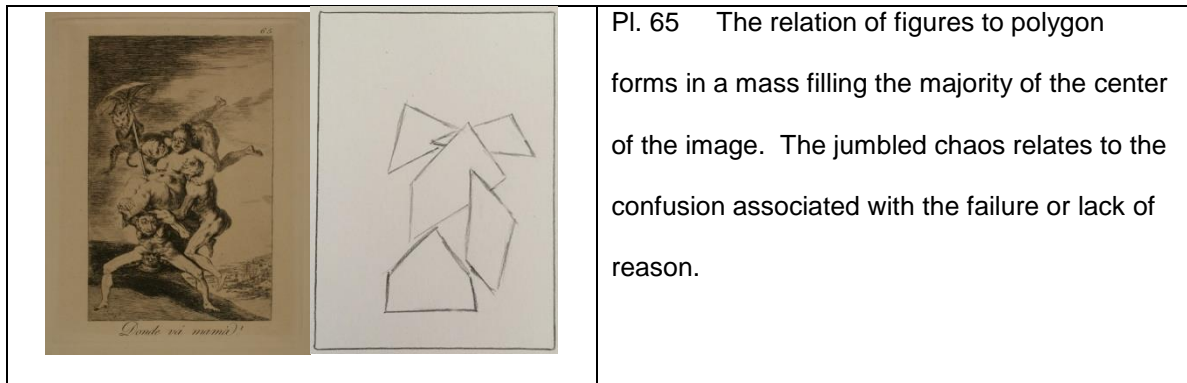
Pl. 55 The men and women are separated by the forms dictated by their positions as well as by type. The vanity taken to extremes by the old woman is censured by her young companions, though they are no better since they do not diverge from the fashionable behaviors of the day. The juxtaposition of age and social class accentuates the irrational follies of trying to keep up appearances in public and deluding oneself in private. The reflection in the mirror is no less grotesque.

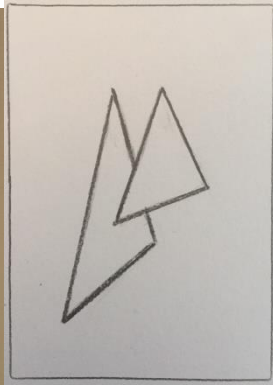


Pl. 61 This plate emphasizes the way what is irrational can be the unconscious foundation of mildly irrational behaviors. Also, the more socially accepted, or tolerated, behaviors can function as a distraction on behalf of the more socially threatening behaviors and madness. The *maja* represents the minimal form of excesses. If these behaviors are intensified or altered they can impede reason. The witches present either the extreme irrationality of belief or a belief system that society at large finds threatening. Another interpretation is that the irrationality associated with witches is the same foundation of the *maja* culture.

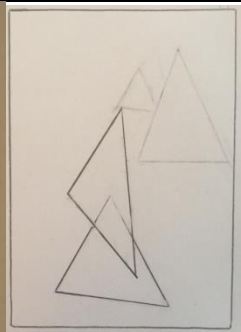


Pl. 63 The subject and composition of this plate suggest that it is a companion piece for plate 42. It acts as a progression in the breakdown of reason. Here the fanciful, surreal figures point to the unconscious, where they are follies and fallacies that correspond to something real, but are in fact errors of reason.

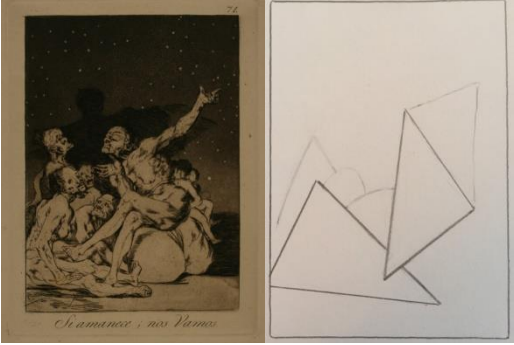






Pl. 68 The older witch and her apprentice are both triangular forms, but the differences in the type and shape enhance the hierarchical relationship. The teacher with greater experience is represented as a more compact shape. The form of the less experienced woman is more open and elongated. The overlap, in this instance, does not indicate conflict but rather the parallel directions they are moving toward. The witch is centered within the picture plane, adding to the appearance of stability. In contrast, the young witch in training is in a more precarious situation, visually in line with her teacher yet she could easily slide or fall, enforcing the sense of movement or unstable situation.

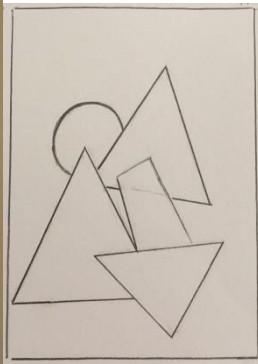


Pl. 70 The repetition of triangular form reinforces the concept of like supporting like.

	<p>Pl. 71 The forms of the figures are similar; however, they are at odds with each other. They share similar interests and beliefs, but they are not unified.</p>
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	<p>Pl. 72 The figures of this plate are in motion. The girl is in the process of moving, but her movements are barely balanced. The other fantastic creatures rotate around her. There is a suggestion of depth in a flattened plane. Both the principles of Arnheim's center and Loran's directional movements of composition are exemplified in this plate.</p>
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	<p>Pl. 75 External forces are exerting pressure in this print. One example is that of social expectations, specifically in the form of unreasonable desires and errors in judgement. Another example in the internal realization of the reality they find themselves in, which is the opposite of their expectations and desires when they were making future plans. The pressure and irrationalities of appearances are what bind and constrain the couple.</p>
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Pl. 77 Although this plate has a subject similar to that in plates 42 and 63, the design is different. There is an increasing madness in the actions and appearance of the figures. The figures are skeletal and seem absorbed in their bizarre sport. The transformation, or descent into irrationality, is almost complete.

CHAPTER VI

LOOKING FORWARD: THE APPEAL OF GOYA'S *CAPRICHOS*

Other scholars have noted the influence of Goya on later artists; however, these scholars have not fully explored the reason behind this influence. Although later artists have borrowed themes or repurposed design elements, there is perhaps more to the appeal of the *Caprichos* than previously considered. Certain themes which attracted later artists include morality, politics (revolution and struggles against oppression and tyrants), and *majas* as symbols of other societal issues. These form a starting point that was altered to suit the times. Design elements from the *Caprichos*, specifically composition, texture of surface, and flatness can be seen influencing later art. Goya's work was innovative. The transitional nature of Goya's *oeuvre* and the association of certain Stoic concepts is part of the appeal. Goya used the various methods of aquatint and line etching to build up his images. Goya's method of etching embodied a simplification of certain forms, an emphasis on the geometric form in relation to space, as well as the picture plane in the *Caprichos*. With regard to the *Caprichos*, the principle figures can be also be reduced to straight lines, uniform curves, rectangles and circles, though of a slightly different sort. It is important to note the connections that have been documented between Goya's work and some modern artists of the nineteenth century.

Manet's paintings in general have a balance between content and formal issues, wherein content is sustained by composition. One example of this is in *The Balcony* (1868), where the placement of women on the balcony reinforces a feminist content of liberated, independent modern women. The two women confidently dominate the foreground. Unlike Goya's *majas*, where the women lean in as if to share a confidence, neither woman in Manet's painting interferes with the personal space of the other. In regard to the costume and composition, the

costume is not explicitly Spanish but the placement and tone of French clothing relates compositionally to Goya's work.

The *Execution of Emperor Maximillian* (1867-68) by Manet is a response to a contemporary event, which has frequently been compared to Goya's *Third of May, 1808* (1814). Manet painted three versions of the execution and a lithograph. The painting in the Museum of Fine Art, Boston, is most like Goya's work in terms of brushwork, color and atmosphere. The painting is darker than the other versions. The version in the *Städtische Kunsthalle*, Mannheim, has some similarities to Goya's work in the grouping of the figures and the relation of the figures to separate planes which both flatten the image and still give a sense of space. The lithograph most closely resembles this painting.³⁷⁶ The version in Copenhagen is more like the Mannheim painting in regard to the costume, but has looser brushwork, cropped space, and is more sketch-like. There is also a tendency in Goya's paintings, especially the latter works, to have sketch-like effects (much to the dismay of José de Vargas Ponce).³⁷⁷

With regard to Manet's *Olympia* (1863), Theodore Reff in his book *Manet*, noted that the painting was defended by some for its formal qualities, especially the flat tone of the skin, the contrast of skin and dark background, in terms of light and dark, and mass.³⁷⁸ Although the painting has precedent in Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, critics have also compared the painting to Goya's *Nude Maja* (1797-1800). Two of the more obvious similarities are the dark, almost flat background of the *Maja* as well as the direct gaze. Manet's painting, *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume* (1862-63), also resembles Goya's *Clothed Maja* (1800-1805). Although some have proposed this as a companion piece to the *Olympia*, this idea has not been well received.³⁷⁹ The background and the position of the woman are more suggestive of Goya's *majas*; however, the tension in space, the slight tilting, and the twisting figure also resemble *Olympia*. One point of

³⁷⁶ Anne Coffin Hanson has stated that when Manet finished certain paintings he would make a print of it. This would suggest that this version was the last of the three, but it is not clear. Hanson also notes a fragment in a London museum.

³⁷⁷ Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics*, 42-44. Vargas Ponce was a member of the San Fernando Academy and the Academy of History, as well as being friends with people in Goya's circle.

³⁷⁸ See Theodore Reff's work, *Manet*. Also, in this respect the first definition of neo-traditionalism by Maurice Denis could be applied here with reference to flat surfaces and color patterns. (Denis's "definition" was published in *Théories 1890-1910*.)

³⁷⁹ There are arguments both for and against this idea.

interest is the lower leg that is crossed over the other and the way the shadow is on both sides of the leg. This is against the principles of Academic art and looks forward to Cézanne, and others.

There is another tie between Manet's *Olympia* and Goya through plate 31 *Ruega por ella* (She prays for her) of the *Caprichos*. The flatness of the figures in terms of the rendering of the women's form and the strong contrast of light and dark (form and setting) are characteristic of both works. With *Olympia*, one of the most notable features is its flatness and little variation in flesh tone. The outline surrounding the figure is also a remarkable aspect of the painting.³⁸⁰ These elements separate *Olympia* from her attendant and surroundings. These traits can also be seen in Goya's print, pl. 31 *Ruega por ella*. The figure of the *maja*-prostitute is delineated by a few line marks, giving just enough detail to suggest form and clothing. This *maja* is in stark contrast with the Celestina, who is rendered in mid-tones with details of her garments enhanced through burnishing, and the maid-attendant is suffused in the shadows by the aquatint. The coarser texture of the aquatint in the print allows a simultaneous sense of depth and flatness similar to the background in Manet's painting. *Olympia* and the *maja* both directly engage the viewer with their gaze; however, *Olympia*'s gaze is bolder in comparison to the *maja*'s coy gaze. *Olympia*'s haughty gaze appears to place the viewer in the role of the suitor. The *maja*'s gaze is more conspiratorial, which would suggest the viewer is a fellow *maja*. Each work also contains symbols that surround the woman and point to her profession.

The subjects of the works by Delacroix and Daumier have a sense of the dramatic and are realist works, in that they are subjects drawn from actual events. In Delacroix's work the imagery is romanticized.

Delacroix had knowledge of paintings by Goya and the two print series, *Los Caprichos* and *The Bulls of Bordeaux*, in addition to his interaction with the sets of those prints that were in his possession. There was another connection between Delacroix and Goya through the association with the family of Ferdinand Guillemardet, who held a brief tenure as the French

³⁸⁰ See Jay Kloner's dissertation and Nils Cost Sandblad. The outline also has a parallel in *Ruega por ella* in that it appears Goya may have used a traditional etching needle (sharp point) as well as an échoppe. The échoppe would account for the lines that swell from a thin line to a wider line within a single stroke, mimicking a graver.

ambassador to Madrid, Spain, and had his portrait painted by Goya. Guillemardet also had obtained a copy of the *Caprichos*. Goya's work was represented in the Louvre's *Galerie Espagnole* (Spanish Gallery), which was open from 1838 until 1848. Delacroix's journal is perhaps one of the best sources in that it records dates, particularly in 1824, when he was thinking about Goya's *Caprichos* and making sketches after the prints.

One important point is the use of recent events to inspire a painting; however, the motivating factor is often different. One example of Delacroix's painting of a contemporary event is *The Massacre at Chios* (1823-24), which refers to the Greek war of independence from the Ottoman Turks. Another painting by Delacroix concerning contemporary events was *Liberty Leading the People* (1830), which refers to the uprising in Paris during the 1830 revolution. Typically scholars who mention these paintings also note the connection to Goya's paintings. The paintings used for comparison sometimes vary, but perhaps the best correlation is with Goya's *Second of May, 1808* (1814). Lipschutz highlighted the fact that Goya's *Second of May* was the first modern painting to feature the subject of civilian street protests and as such became a reference for later artists grappling with similar situations of civil insurrection. The *Second of May* features a frenzy of activity, marking the protests at conditions and the French invasion which turned violent, and had immediate disastrous results. Figures in the foreground of the *Massacre* also share similarity of pose and state of emotion (mind) as in some of the *Caprichos*, specifically pl. 10 *El amor y la muerte* (Love and Death) and perhaps pl. 9 *Tantalo* (Tantalus), where the living form either embraces the dead or laments them.

Delacroix's illustrations for Goethe's *Faust* have been noted for their new variation of Gothic imagery. However, they owe as much to Goya as anything else. One of the illustrations, *Mephistopheles Flying through the Air*, is most interesting in that the figure of Mephistopheles is directly adapted from *Caprichos* pl. 66, *Allá vá eso* (There it goes). There are sketches extant where Delacroix drew the figure of the woman. In the lithograph, the lights and darks are rendered in such a way as to emphasize the dramatic. This parallels Goya's print closely. The expanse of sky and the shadowy, abstracted landscape are very similar. The main differences fall into the differences of the aquatint etching and the crayon lithograph. The theme of madness

is also present in both prints. In Goya's print, the madness is more a form of self-delusion, where the demon allows himself to be persuaded into a subservient role contrary to its best interests. Similarly in Delacroix's print the devil, Mephistopheles, is using a perverse logic to attract and trap Faust into a situation he cannot win, thereby falling into madness and ruin.

Although there are no sketches and studies by Daumier to show his study of Goya's technique and content as there was with Delacroix, there is enough information to show that there was opportunity for Daumier to have been aware of Goya's work. Sarah Symmons, in her book *Daumier*, states that Daumier was familiar with Goya's work. There were numerous ways in which Daumier may have encountered Goya: magazines and newspapers such as *l'Artiste* and *Le Magasin Pittoresque* (beginning in 1834 with both sources), the *Galerie Espagnole* (1838-1848), Vivant Denon's collection of *Caprichos* in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, private collections, and later Charles Yriarte's monograph on Goya's work published in 1867.³⁸¹

Daumier's lithograph, *Rue Transnonain* (1834), has been compared to Goya's work, especially the *Disasters of War* even though it is unlikely that he actually saw this series since they were not published until the 1860s. Daumier's subject is current, but not strictly accurate, a similarity noted by Goya scholars concerning the *Disasters*. Another of Daumier's prints, *Wasn't Much Point in Us Getting Killed, Was There?* (1835), is similar in composition to a print from Goya's *Caprichos*, pl. 59 *Y aun no se van!* (And Still They Don't Go).³⁸² Although Goya's print has been identified with the section on witches and goblins, the cowering skeletal figures are more ambiguous and therefore represent poor souls who have faced hard times, but continue to struggle and cling to life when the outcome is bleak.

Daumier's work shares a closer affinity to certain themes in Goya's *Caprichos* and Album drawings. The focus on everyday activities is one common trait. Especially important in the work

³⁸¹ Vivant Denon was charged with selecting works of Spanish art for Napoleon Bonaparte and was later the print curator at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and also brought a complete set of the *Caprichos* back from his travels to Spain. By 1809 Denon was showing the *Caprichos* to artists and writers who visited the Print Collection. After Denon's death his set of the *Caprichos* became part of the print collection in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, which until its closure in 1848, was popular with artists as well as writers, such as Charles Baudelaire.

³⁸² Sarah Symmons has also compared Daumier's print to Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People*, in terms of composition and revolutionary sentiment.

of both artists is the attraction to people's reactions to the way things appear in their world. This is highlighted by the attention to the moral outcomes of those situations and the greater impact they have on the society in general. Daumier's work also has a strong emotional appeal.

As with Manet, the influence of Goya is also evident in the work of Paul Cézanne in terms of composition. The content can be viewed as controlled in relation to issues of composition. Among these formal issues, three are of particular interest: flatness, the surface-space tension, and the placement of figures.

Cézanne's work is more geometric in nature, emphasizing line, plane and volume. Loran's book, concerning Cézanne's composition beautifully illustrates the way in which Cézanne's flattened forms create space and spatial tensions. In short, forms are associated with planes or volume, and can be arranged in overlapping or circular patterns to create depth. Frank Stella, in his discussion of Kandinsky and Cézanne in his book, *Working Spaces*, notes the feature of triangularity in Cézanne's work, which is a type of geometrification that precedes Cubism.

Loran applies his method of analysis to both landscapes and figurative paintings. *Mont Sainte-Victoire* (1887-90) is one such landscape. *Mardi Gras* (1888) is one example of two figures in a simplified, non-specific, space. Goya's paintings and prints anticipate the tendency towards flatness Frank Stella and Loran see in Cézanne's paintings. For example, the two figures in pl. 10 *El amor y la muerte* (Love and Death) are treated as overlapping planes which in turn overlap the portion of a wall, then the space beyond. The use of various marks and etching methods in the print also help create pattern, and (mostly) horizontal bands that also flatten the picture plane and create spatial depth. In Goya's portrait, *The Family of the Duke of Osuna* (1788), the family members are represented as three-dimensional forms, or volumes in Loran's terms, which are situated in different angles to each other, which creates movement between and around the figures.

Loran's analytical study of Cezanne's paintings through diagrams is one that lends itself well to a study of Goya's prints.³⁸³ One of the key aspects is the analysis of flat planes which are evident in *Los Caprichos*, primarily in the form of textural and tonal masses. *El amor y la muerte* (Love and Death) and *Por que fue sensible* (Because she was susceptible) are two such examples.

In Loran's illustrated glossary there are several concepts which can be applied to Goya's prints. First, the concept of "volumes moving in space" with diagram VII relate to a few of the prints.³⁸⁴ The diagrams and explanation of the four types of movements (two-dimensional, two- and three-dimensional, rising and falling, and linear rhythm) are certainly applicable as most of the prints have a flat quality which allows especially for the rising and falling movements as well as the linear rhythm. The diagrams regarding the tensions of planes and of volumes apply to a number of the prints. One example to which either (or both) the tension of planes and the tension of volumes would apply is pl.2 *El si pronuncian y la mano alargan al primero que llega* (They say yes and give their Hand to the first comer). Loran's definitions of "light and dark patterns, closed" and "open-color patterns," correspond to some of the *Caprichos*. For example, the pl. 43 *El sueño produce monstruos* (Sleep of reason produces monsters) and pl. 32 *Por que fue sensible* (Because she was susceptible) are open light and dark patterns. Other prints such as pl. 59 *Y aun no se van!* (And still they don't go) utilize the closed light and dark patterns. Also Loran's discussion of distortions, particularly those of space and alterations of reality in landscapes may apply to some of *Los Caprichos* in a general sense.³⁸⁵ Some distortions may include tilting and alterations of perspective to produce a certain (often unsettling) effect. One example is in pl. 2 *El si pronuncian y la mano alargan al primero que llega* (They say yes and give their hand to the first comer), where the aisle that the bridal couple walk is tilted upward and the platform they approach is tilted even further but in a slightly different angle.

³⁸³ Further study of Goya's sketchbooks and *Los Caprichos* is needed in regard to line, form and volume. Comparisons of compositions and iconography have been done before, but none that have looked specifically at form, line and volume in both (or either) the sketchbooks and *Los Caprichos*.

³⁸⁴ Loran, *Cézanne's Composition*, 20.

³⁸⁵ Loran, 29-31.

In *Los Caprichos* it seems as though the subject matter determines the extent of which aspect is dominant, plane or recession. The more nightmarish, other worldly prints seem to relate the most to recession while the other, more typically genre; images appear related to the plane.

These are just a few of many possible examples to demonstrate Goya's influence on modern art. The developments of flatness as a key element are a shared feature. Not only does technique play a part in the flattening of the work, but the placement of figures in relation to each other and the setting also lead to flattening. All of which help create surface tensions. The range of subjects, from the everyday to the fantastic, is another shared trait. Regardless of whether the works addressed are considered to be grounded in Romanticism, Realism, or Impressionism the uniting factor is the close observation of contemporary life surrounding the artist.

The fantastic figures and the social aspects of the *Caprichos* have a surreal quality. The emphasis on dream and the distortions of reality in Goya's work also point toward Surrealism. The explicit and expressive quality achieved in the *Caprichos* through minimal strokes or processes also anticipate Expressionism, particularly German Expressionism. These observations then manifest themselves in the individual style of the artist.

CHAPTER VII SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Goya's print series, *Los Caprichos*, is an immensely fascinating work. There is clear evidence of the literature and art that influenced Goya in the *Caprichos*. The prints are not, however, mere copies or appropriations. Through the process of looking at the world around him and studying the products of its culture, Goya was able to synthesize all of these elements and then produce a work that is both a response and a completely new direction in art. The ancient texts of the Stoics, particularly those from the Imperial Roman era, provided a template on how to study nature, specifically human nature. Stoic thought also provided a means of going beyond observing behavior to identifying the causes of different behaviors.

Stoicism produced a theory of logic and moral psychology that is noted to be very similar to modern semiotics and psychology. This moral psychology is closely aligned with the subjects and situations found in the *Caprichos*. Many of the types of desires (emotions or passions) described by the Stoics and the way each was considered good or bad can be understood as degrees of irrational desires. The *Caprichos* also explores desires and like the Stoics presents the results as a range of irrationality.

The *Caprichos* share with Stoic thought the use of language and imagery, or imagination. The concept of *phantasia* is a part of Stoic logic which is involved with rhetoric and oratory (speech and poetry) in a creative process, such as the creation of ideas and arguments on any given topic. *Phantasia* as imagination, based on the perceived appearance of a concept and in the modern sense, depends on the cognitive functions (the creation of concepts on a specified topic) to produce an image, either written or visual, that conveys the concept. The use of compositional design and whichever artistic medium is chosen to create the image enhances the topic, or allows the display of subtle nuances, that further advances the concept.

The variety of passions displayed by individuals and within society form the concepts on which the *Caprichos* are based. The captions and imagery in the prints are the realization of the related *phantasia* (imagination). The way in which the captions are categorized, either as word-plays or metaphors and aphorism, then leave the interpretation open-ended. The images also include many details and compositional elements that contribute to the open interpretation, because even if a real event was the inspiration for a print, the image can stand for one or more other situations.

The *Caprichos* themselves also look forward to modern art, not just in the treatment of a variety of different subjects and style, but in technique as well. The conceptualization of a new use of the sketchbook helped refine the subject and design of the *Caprichos*. The organization and presentation of the prints was also different from the distribution of other prints which were also sold as bound copies, but lacked the same degree of cohesive order or meaning as the *Caprichos*. The aggressive use of aquatint in a bold, expressive manner had not been seen before. Goya also used tone and texture to suggest form or manipulate space in the prints. The degree of flattened space in the *Caprichos* was primarily matched only by the flatness seen in Japanese prints. These are a few of the technical advancements in the *Caprichos*.

Goya's work on the *Caprichos* is a blending of new expressions in aquatint and the presentation of a series of prints with concepts inspired by Stoic thought. The modulations of the aquatint within each plate and in comparison to the others are linked to the concepts of time, change and subsequently wisdom. The observations that inform the composition and texture of each print could be viewed as a practical application of Stoic concepts on physics as well as ethics. The geometry, as described above, utilizes the Stoic moral psychology to diagram the relation of a figure to certain events or the interaction of multiple figures. The Stoic concept of ethics, as well as logic to a variable degree, can be seen as the driving force behind the actions and reactions of the characters. The presentation of the text and image in each plate draw on the Stoic principles of logic, specifically propositional logic (sometimes called propositional calculus or symbolic logic). The placement of each part (text or image) in the equation determines a possible

understanding of the plate. Stoic logic provides the rationale for the motivations of the figures.³⁸⁶

As a whole, the plates function in a similar but more complex manner.

³⁸⁶ Essential aspects of Stoic thought as referred to here can be referenced in my Master's thesis, "Stoic Influences in Goya's *Los Caprichos*."

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